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F ENGLAND
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The Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyist Center

HISTORY will lay it on record that at the trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist center led by Piatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov and Serebriakov, which took place January 23-30, 1937, in the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., there was disclosed one of the most monstrous parts of the hellish mechanism for kindling a new imperialist war and, in particular, a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The trial established the fact that under the leadership of Trotsky, foul renegade of socialism, traitor to the country and enemy of the people, who acted in agreement with the German and Japanese incendiaries of war and on their direct instructions, a widespread gang of Trotskyists had been at work on the territory of the Soviet Union. This gang tried, by means of wrecking and subversive acts, by espionage and terrorist acts, to undermine the economic and military might of the Soviet state, to accelerate and provoke an armed attack on the U.S.S.R., to further the victory of the fascist aggressors and the defeat of the U.S.S.R., the overthrow of the Soviet government, and the restoration of capitalism and the power of the bourgeoisie.

The August trial of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist center had already revealed part of the counter-revolutionary activities carried out in fulfilment of this plan, namely, the organization of the murder of leaders of the Communist Party and of the government of the U.S.S.R.

But at the trial in August of last year, the accused—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Mrachkovsky, Dreizer and others—then admitted, in the main, only those points which at the moment had been discovered by the organs of state security: namely, the organization of terror, the murder of S. M. Kirov, preparations for the murder of leaders of the Party and the government, and first and foremost of the leader of the working people, Comrade Stalin. At the August trial, it was also established that contacts existed between the members of the terrorist gang and the German secret service, the Gestapo, with the cognizance and participation of Trotsky. However, the political basis of this criminal activity—the agreement arrived at between Trotsky and the leaders of the German National-Socialist Party and representatives of the Japanese militarist clique, for the purpose of directly preparing and accelerating an armed attack against the U.S.S.R., for the purpose of dismembering it, dividing it up among the aggressors, and restoring capitalism, as well as the wrecking and subversive activities of the Trotskyists together with professional spies—all this was then purposely concealed by Zinoviev, Kamenev and Smirnov.

At the present trial, after the organs of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs had disclosed not only the terrorist, but also the wrecking, subversive and spying activities carried on under the leadership of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist center, composed of Piatakov, Radek and others, there was established to the full the whole of the monstrously coherent program and criminal activities of that enemy of the people, Trotsky—

agent of the German and Japanese warmongers.

At the trial the following was established: Trotsky had concluded an agreement with Hess, the representative of the ruling National-Socialist Party of Germany, by virtue of which Trotsky, on behalf of his adherents operating on the territory of the U.S.S.R., undertook actively to assist, by all possible means, and in particular by the means indicated by the corresponding General Staff, in undermining the economic and military might of the U.S.S.R. before and during a military onslaught of the fascist aggressors against it.

As a reward for this assistance, the fascists promised to aid Trotsky to seize power, on condition that the territory of the U.S.S.R. would be dismembered: the Ukraine to be transferred to fascist Germany, and other economic concessions to be granted which amounted to subjugating the whole country to foreign capitalism. All this would have meant handing over the factories to the capitalists, liquidating the collective and Soviet state farms, and restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

Trotsky concluded a similar "agreement" with Japan, to which the whole of the Maritime and Amur provinces, besides Soviet Sakhalin, were to be conceded.

Besides this, Trotsky undertook to support the entire foreign and military policy of fascist Germany in Europe, aimed in particular at the seizure, dismemberment and subjection to her influence of Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Balkan countries, and also the policy of Japan in Asia, aiming, first and foremost, at the seizure of China. In particular, provision was made for help to Japan in the war she is preparing against the U.S.A.

These "agreements" between Trotsky and the aggressors for aid in the war they are preparing were later confirmed in Moscow itself by Radek (as regards Germany) in an interview with German officials and by Sokolnikov (as regards Japan) with some Japanese officials.

The practical activities of the criminal Trotskyist gang were subordinated to the fascist program and strategy thus established. Wrecking, subversive acts, and murders were to be carried out—to a still greater extent than in the past—on the instructions of, and according to the specific tasks set by, the "allied" General Staffs.

Before the court there was unfolded a horrible picture of crimes already committed in fulfilment of this plan. Beside the general tasks of wrecking the plans of production and lowering the quality of production first and foremost in enterprises important for defense, and on the railroads, arson and explosions in factories and individual shops and mines were organized, as well as train wrecks, and damage to rolling stock and railroad tracks. Moreover, the Trotskyists deliberately aimed at destroying human lives, for, said they, "the more victims the better, since this will arouse the anger of the workers". Especial attention was devoted to wrecking work in the chemical industry.

Among the most diabolical crimes which chill the blood in the veins of every honest man, were the wrecking of a troop train at Shumikha station by Trotskyists on the instructions of the Japanese secret service, which took place on October 27, 1935, and caused the death of twenty-nine Red Army men and injury to twenty-nine other Red Army men, and also the explosion on September 23, 1936, in the "Central" Pit of the Kemerovo Colliery, which resulted in the death of ten workers and fourteen workers being severely injured—the handiwork of the Trotskyists.

Feverish activity was also carried on by Trotskyist groups, in preparing a number of wrecking and subversive acts, the fulfilment of which was to coincide with the beginning of military action by the fascist aggressors, which according to the information and line emanating from Trotsky was to take place in the very near future. These wrecking

and subversive acts were to consist in war time of blowing up railway constructions, of arson in military stores and canteens, of the wrecking of troop trains, and also of deliberate infection of troop trains, canteens and Red Army sanitary depots with bacteria of highly contagious diseases.

Side by side with this, methodical work went on of supplying confidential information to foreign secret service agents.

The organization of terrorist acts occupied a special position in the activities of the Trotskyist gangs led by the parallel center. Plans were prepared for the murder of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government, of Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Orjonikidze, Yezhov, Zhdanov, Kossior, Eiche, Postyshev, and Beria. Several of the planned attempts were undertaken, and it was only by force of accidental circumstances that they did not lead to catastrophe.

Those responsible for all these crimes stood their trial before the Supreme Court, and paid the penalty they deserved.

* * *

The trial of the anti-Soviet, Trotskyist center led by Piakatov, Radek and others has delivered a most powerful blow not only at the criminal gang of Trotskyists who have been operating for a number of years on the territory of the U.S.S.R., but also at the fascist warmongers themselves. It has revealed to the whole world their plans of military aggression directed not only against the U.S.S.R. but also against a number of other countries.

It has shown the sort of methods to which the warmongers resort in order to ensure themselves the most favorable conditions for their designs, the moment military operations begin. It has shown the type of accomplices and agents they are seeking for and finding in the very countries they are preparing to attack, among the degenerate dregs of all kinds of "oppositionist" groups and organizations which hide their criminal work and their connections with fascism behind false names and fraudulent slogans.

The trial has proved that in all those countries where Trotskyist groups exist —groups led by Trotsky, inspired by Trotsky, orientating themselves on Trotsky, on this unmasked agent of fascist Germany and Japan—all these groups work for war and fascism, that in all these groups outright provocateurs and spies and unscrupulous adventurists and blind dupes merge together.

Trotsky and all the branches of "international" Trotskyism have one carefully elaborated, logical, purposeful "program", identical with the program of the most reactionary bourgeoisie and fascism they possess one "strategy"—a line of provoking war and of achieving victory for the fascist aggressors. The tactics used by Trotskyist provocateurs in the different countries are adapted to the particular conditions of these countries. In the U.S.S.R. where the victory of socialism and the liquidation of the exploiting classes have doomed the Trotskyists to an impenetrable isolation from the masses of the population, all they are able to do is to carry on deeply conspirative, downright bandit, wrecking, subversive, and terrorist activities. In the capitalist countries, where they are afforded greater opportunities of maneuvering, they try, in provocateur fashion, and hiding behind "Left" phrases, to cause disruption in the ranks of the working class. But here also their work is entirely bound up with the work of the fascists. Their main task everywhere is to carry on a struggle against the anti-fascist movement, to engage in undermining work against the anti-fascist People's Front.

* * *

The struggle against Trotskyism has now become one of the most important tasks not only of the Communists but also of the entire international working class movement, and not only of the

workers, but of all sincere democrats, anti-fascists, and opponents of war.

Any underestimation whatsoever of the danger of Trotskyism is supremely harmful to the working class and anti-fascist movements. True, there are only a few open Trotskyist groups and organizations in all the countries, and they are weak. But the peculiarity of this variety and agency of fascism lies in its duplicity, in the way it worms itself under the most varied guises through all the fissures in the working class movement, in the way it seeks out the weak places, and oozes forth its poison —"the bacteria of highly infectious diseases"—as in the troop trains of the Red Army.

The Trotskyists operate among inexperienced young people who are susceptible to the influence of "revolutionary" phrases. In the lands of fascism, they make use of the circumstance that the more experienced active members of the anti-fascist movement are being systematically swept away by the repressive activity of the secret police, for the purpose of carrying on their provocative activity in the illegal organizations of the working class. They direct their attention in a number of countries toward those elements who are disillusioned with Social-Democracy and, while turning away from it, become contaminated with the anti-Communist, Trotskyist ideology. They find ground for their work among broad sections of the Socialist Parties, from the most reactionary which use their services in the struggle against the unity of the working class movement, to the "Lefts", who are fascinated by their extremist phraseology. Finally, they find a responsive audience among the individualist, anarchist-minded petty-bourgeois intellectuals.

The trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist Center has dealt a most severe and mortal blow at Trotskyism. Now it is a question of unmasking Trotskyism to the full, of driving it once and for all out of the ranks of the working class and from among all honest people, of blocking up all the ways and channels through which its poison oozes. This must be done in every country on the basis of the facts of the abominable activities of Trotskyism as revealed at the trial, and by laying bare in a concrete fashion the treacherous wrecking work of the Trotskyists in the given country.

At the present moment all the necessary conditions exist to wipe out Trotskyism, to crush the Trotskyist viper. The Communist International, the initiator and untiring organizer of the united and People's Front, has now won tremendous sympathy among the working class of the whole world. The Soviet Union is displaying the tremendous victories of socialism; it is marching ahead with gigantic strides after having overcome the difficulties which still existed a few years ago, when the last phase of the wrecking and terrorist activities of the Trotskyists began. The heroic struggle of the Spanish people being led by the People's Front, the tremendous aid afforded and still being afforded by the U.S.S.R. to the fighting Spanish people, have created a feeling of profound sympathy toward the Soviet Union throughout the world, have called forth great love for it among the working people of all countries. And finally, this last trial, the materials of which have already penetrated to very wide masses of people, and will continue to do so more and more, has unmasked, as never before, the treacherous, spying, wrecking, terrorist activity of the Trotskyists. All this is creating a situation in which all that is necessary exists for putting an end once and for all to the criminal work of Trotskyist gangs and their hangers-on in all countries.

* * *

The sum total of the irrefutable facts which go to prove the criminal machinations of the fascist aggressors, and the criminal offenses of their Trotskyist agents have made a very strong impression in all capitalist countries. Under the weight of all these proofs, even the

"sceptical ones", even those who in the past expressed doubts about the "likelihood" of the monstrous crimes of the Trotskyists, have been compelled to change their attitude. The more far-sighted bourgeois leaders have felt and understood that it is not a question of crimes aimed against one country alone, the U.S.S.R., but of an extensive network of activities which menace all peace-loving countries.

All the more astounding and harmful, then, is the fact that the majority of Social-Democratic newspapers and prominent leaders of the Second International have considered it possible, this time again, to take their stand in defense of the Trotskyist gangsters, wreckers and terrorists, the direct agents of the fascist warmongers. This is witness of the fact that many of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders have not yet lived down their wrong attitude toward fascism and the menace of the war being prepared by the fascists, and of their hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union as a state, as the land of working class dictatorship, the land of socialism.

It is necessary to recall again and again that the fascists, in particular the German fascists, would not, nor could they have come to power, had this not been facilitated for them by the fatal policy of Social-Democracy, which made concession after concession to fascism, and remained hostile to the end to the united proletarian front persistently proposed by the Communists. We find manifestations of this suicidal policy in the position adopted by the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy even to this day, even in those countries where, thanks to the persistency of the Communists and the pressure of the masses of the people, the united working class and anti-fascist People's Front have been achieved.

We find manifestations of this most harmful policy in all countries where the rejection of the united working class and anti-fascist People's Fronts by the leadership of the Social-Democratic Parties is increasing the chances of the attacking fascists who are frequently in direct contact with aggressive German fascism. This policy also finds its expression in the systematic rejection of the international united front by the leadership of the Second International.

It must be said again and again, firmly and frankly, that all those who, notwithstanding the obvious, are adamant in their blindness, who defend the convicted agents of fascism and the warmongers, and cover up this defense with juridical chicanery and "psychological" arguments, are in fact playing into the hands of fascism.

* * *

The struggle against Trotskyism, the struggle to crush Trotskyism, is most closely connected with the common struggle of the working class and the masses of working people generally, against fascism and war and for the unity and solidarity of their ranks; it has become a component part of this struggle.

Fascism, which is experiencing insurmountable internal contradictions and difficulties, is now striving to let war loose. All that is honest in the international working class movement and the movement of the wide masses of the people closely connected with it, is against war. Can we fight against war without fighting against Trotskyism? No, we cannot. Because Trotskyism, which has no deep roots anywhere among the people, has to place its stakes upon war, and does so reckless of consequences. This is why *the struggle against Trotskyism is a component part of the struggle against war.*

The prestige of the Soviet Union, unswerving champion of peace, land of tremendous achievements in socialist construction and of the great Stalin Constitution, is growing tremendously today among the masses of the people of all countries. Who is against the U.S.S.R., who is trying to discredit it? Fascism and its foul Trotskyist agents. Can we fight in defense of the Soviet Union without fighting against its enemy, Trotskyism?

No, we cannot. Hence the *struggle against Trotskyism is a component part of the struggle in defense of the U.S.S.R.*

What is stirring and inspiring millions and millions of people in all countries to the struggle is the unity of the working class movement, and the establishment and development of the People's Front. Who are against unity and who are alarmed at the successes in the field of unity? The reactionary bourgeoisie and fascists. Who try to wreck and prevent working class unity and to undermine the unity of the masses of the people? Trotskyism, agency of fascism. Can we fight for unity in the working class movement, against a split, without fighting against Trotskyism? It is clear that we cannot. And that is why *the struggle against Trotskyism is a component part of the struggle for unity in the working class movement, of the struggle for the People's Front, against fascism and war.*

One of the most important conditions determining the victory over fascism is to restore the vitality of the entire working class movement, to cleanse it of all kinds of corruption and, in particular, of the espionage and provocation which the enemies of the working class are disseminating in the ranks of the workers. Can we fight against espionage and provocation without fighting against Trotskyism, which has made a principle of double-dealing, camouflage and deception? We cannot. That is why *the struggle against Trotskyism is a component part of the struggle against provocation and espionage inside the working class movement.*

Today the defense of the Spanish people against the fascist rebels and German-Italian fascist intervention is the chief concern of the international proletariat and democracy the world over. The victory of Republican Spain will be a victory over world fascism. Who are carrying on wrecking work to prevent this victory, who are playing a foul game to bring about the defeat of the Spanish people? The Trotskyists. The enemies of the Spanish People's Front, the enemies of the working class unity, the enemies of the trade union unity, the enemies of the united organization of the youth, the enemies of a united, disciplined People's Army, the enemies of the International Brigades, which they label the "praetorian guard", the enemies of the U.S.S.R., which is affording tremendous moral and political aid to the Spanish people—in a word, the Spanish Trotskyists are conducting themselves as the foremost detachment of the notorious "Fifth Column" of the rebel Franco. Can we support the heroic struggle of the Spanish people without fighting against this treacherous Trotskyist gang? No, we cannot. Hence the struggle against Trotskyism is a component part of the struggle for Republican Spain.

* * *

The trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist Center has shown how great is the danger of war, how subtle are the methods used by the fascists in their preparations for war. The trial has shown what a particularly foul, treacherous and harmful role is being played by the Trotskyist agents of fascism and their leader, Trotsky, the enemy of the people, in the preparations being made for war.

The trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist Center has brought severe defeat to fascism and its Trotskyist agency. But the Trotskyist agency of fascism is not only working on the territory of the U.S.S.R. Wherever fascism is trying to create favorable conditions for the war it is preparing, its agents, the Trotskyists, are at work. The fighting front against Trotskyism must be extended. The defeat which it suffered in Moscow must be followed up by its defeat in all countries in which it has managed to worm its way. It must be surrounded by a cordon of complete isolation. It must be exposed, no matter what the mask behind which it is hiding; it must be rendered harmless and completely crushed.

The New Phase of Struggle for a Democratic, Independent Spain

FOR seven months the struggle of the Spanish people has been going on—the Spanish people, who with tremendous self-sacrifice are defending their republic and liberty against fascist barbarism, and thereby defending the common cause of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind.

The invasion of Spain by the German and Italian fascist interventionists and incendiaries of world war has opened up a new phase in the development of the events in Spain and has led to a sharpening of the international situation.

The aid stealthily afforded to the rebels by Berlin and Rome during the first months gradually increased as General Franco suffered defeats while the governments of Britain and France shut their eyes to the intrigues of Germany and Italy behind the screen of "non-intervention in Spanish affairs". This aid became more open and insolent, until finally it became transformed into a real *war* of intervention by fascist Germany and Italy against the Spanish people.

The present phase of the armed struggle in Spain is opening up new sources of energy, rousing still wider sections of the people to the struggle for national independence, and strengthening the desire for the creation of a strong, united, disciplined people's army, for still further solidarity among all anti-fascist forces, and for the further consolidation of the militant collaboration and fraternal relations existing between Republicans, Socialists, Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. This is so for it is not difficult to understand that *the decisive condition for a successful struggle for the independence of the Spanish people and the crushing of fascism is complete unity in the ranks of the People's Front.*

The invasion of Spain by German and Italian troops is adding still further fuel to the whole international situation. It is becoming more and more obvious every day that the fate of Madrid, set afire by bombs and destroyed by artillery, will be the fate of other European capitals, if the world does not succeed in checking the furious aggressors. It is becoming clearer with every day that passes that German and Italian fascist intervention in Spain is directed not only against the Spanish people, but that the incendiaries of war have chosen Spain as a vantage ground for an onslaught against European democracy in general. The menace of a victory by Germany and Italy, and of the winning by them of strong positions in the western part of the Mediterranean is causing anxiety among the ruling circles of France and Britain, and urging the governments of these countries towards a more effective policy.

The peoples of the largest non-fascist states are being seized with increasing alarm for the morrow, for their own fate. The peoples of the small states menaced by fascism are anxiously asking the question: whose turn will it be after Spain?

Never before have the vital interests of a single people been so closely interwoven with all that is most urgent for the whole of progressive mankind.

The struggle of the Spanish people, both by virtue of the breadth of its social basis (which covers workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, and certain sections of the bourgeoisie), and by virtue of the influence of the idea of the People's Front, as well as of its organizations and leadership, *is the biggest battle against fascism* taking place on an international scale.

* * *

The defects in the organizaton of the defense of the Republic in the first stage of civil war in Spain revealed most clearly in the battles at Talavera and Toledo made it possible for the fascist rebels to make their way right up to Madrid, the very heart of revolutionary Spain.

The fighting round Talavera-Toledo revealed the following weaknesses in the organization of the republican forces, namely, the absence of a disciplined, regular army capable of carrying on the struggle, of reserves trained in good time and placed at key points along the front, the absence of unity between the operations being conducted and of communications between the fronts, the absence of a single strategic plan and united leadership, the shortage of munitions, the poor quality of the military training of the people's militiamen, the lack of real fighting discipline, and the weakness of the work in the rear.

Of tremendous importance for the civil war in Spain is the peasant rear. The defeats round Talavera-Toledo are to some extent the price paid by the parties of the People's Front for their underestimation of the role of the peasantry in the struggle for the Republic. The peasants of Spain loathe the old regime, the domination of the landowners and monasteries. Millions of those engaged in tilling the soil are ready to sacrifice their lives in defense of the republic and the land won from the fascist landowners. But clearly, enough has not yet been done to draw the peasantry into the armed struggle against fascism.

Until quite recently, the people's militia was overwhelmingly a workers' militia. During the first stage this was natural. The working class is the leader in the struggle to bring about the culmination of the democratic revolution. But after the first victories over the rebels, the central task became that of organizing a big people's army drawn from *all* sections of the people working for their living. This meant, first and foremost, drawing into the army the main masses of the peasantry, spreading working class elements through the army, and cementing it with Communists and reliable Socialists and Anarchists. This task was not fulfilled in good time.

The task of drawing the peasantry into the army developed into the most important problem facing the armed forces of the Spanish people.

Thus, in the severe lessons of Talavera Toledo there were focussed all the weaknesses of the republican front, all the difficulties of organizing victory over the fascist rebels. These lessons taught how to remove these difficulties, how to weld the forces of the People's Front, and how to create a regular people's republican army. The masses learned by these experiences, as did also the parties leading them. A change was to be observed in the sentiments of the masses and inside the political parties; a start was made towards solving the most important tasks of the moment.

A big part in bringing about this change was played by the Communist Party. In the days when confusion arose in some parts under the influence of the defeats at the front, the Bolsheviks of Spain raised the banner of the struggle for the consolidation of all forces, for the preparation of the defense of Madrid, and for the firm organization of the front and the rear.

After overcoming tremendous difficulties both at home and on the international arena, the People's Front succeeded in a short space of time to establish around Madrid and to move against

the enemy a well-armed, trained, real people's army with a single republican command. The plans of the fascist bandits broke to pieces in face of the iron wall of resistance thrown up by the Spanish people. Established in the heat of battle, the republican army not only brought defeat to the hordes of General Franco, but also successfully flung back the furious attacks of the German and Italian interventionists.

The Spanish people are fighting to defend and consolidate the democratic parliamentary republic, the republic of the People's Front, in which the material basis of fascism will be undermined, and in which an end will be put once and for all to the menace of fascism.

The experience of the struggle has shown everybody—both the masses and the political parties—that the only way to organize victory is to strengthen the People's Front thoroughly. The Communist Party has been indefatigable in calling and is still calling upon all parties and organizations of the People's Front to do this.

Profound changes are taking place in the camp of the Anarcho-Syndicalists. An indication of this is the change in the tactics of the Anarcho-Syndicalists on the question of the central government. For a long time the Anarcho-Syndicalists refused to join the Largo Caballero government and washed their hands of responsibility for its actions. They put forward a plan to replace the government by a "Committee of Defense". The Communist Party supported the government, for it is impossible to crush fascism unless all the forces of the people are mobilized and rallied around a united, authoritative government. The Communist Party, day in and day out, persistently attempted to persuade the Anarcho-Syndicalists of the faultiness of their position, appealing to them as their class brothers and allies in the joint struggle. The Communist Party insisted upon the Anarcho-Syndicalists joining the government, considering this to be the condition for close collaboration in organizing a fighting army, raising the discipline in the ranks of the republican army, and strengthening the authority of the republican government.

Recently, the C.N.T., the Anarcho-Syndicalist National Confederation of Labor, has shown itself capable of drawing correct tactical conclusions from the events. By joining the government and recognizing the need for establishing a strong and disciplined people's army, it is helping to establish a united and centralized leadership over the military operations on the different fronts.

But these are only the first steps taken by the Anarcho-Syndicalists. The correct and valuable declarations made by their leaders are still far from adequately being put into practice. In those provinces where the Anarchists enjoy extensive influence, "particularist" tendencies have not yet been lived down. Catalonia could do much more to aid the defense of Madrid, the central task at the moment. The most important task facing all organizations of the People's Front is to live down particularist tendencies.

Harmful views proceeding from Anarcho-Syndicalism on questions of organizing industry and putting through the agrarian reform have also not been lived down. The failure to understand the tasks facing the present stage of the Spanish revolution was expressed in the decree of the Catalonian government "concerning the collectivization of industry and trade". This decree provides for the "collectivization" of all industrial and trading undertakings which employ over 100 workers, and the introduction of workers' control in all, even small, industries. The Communist Party of Spain is quite correct in opposing the wholesale nationalization (or "collectivization") of industry, allowing of nationalization only in those definite cases when this is dictated by the requirements of the defense of the republic against fascism and intervention.

No less erroneous and harmful is the position taken up by many Anarcho-Syndicalists on the land question. While

insisting upon immediate and all-round collectivization, they object to the decree of the republican government concerning the nationalization of the estates of landowners participating in the fascist rebellion, and their transfer to the use of agricultural laborers and small peasants. In some places they are still continuing to make experiments in collectivization, thus threatening to disrupt the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The Communist Party of Spain is steering a steady course for a close and firm alliance between the working class, on the one hand, and the peasantry and other sections of the working people on the other, regarding this alliance as the condition for the victory of the People's Front in the war against the fascist counter-revolution and intervention. The Communist Party is defending the transfer of the land taken from the fascist landowners to the peasants, for they alone can today guarantee that this land will be cultivated; the Communist Party is in favor of protecting and securing the property rights and interests of the small and middle peasantry, and of resolutely putting an end to requisitions directed against the working population of both the towns and villages. The growing popularity enjoyed by the Communist Party in the villages is confirmation of the correctness of its policy of alliance between the workers and peasants.

The comradely, business-like, and convincing criticism made by the Communist Party and its press is helping the Anarcho-Syndicalists to draw lessons from the experience of joint struggle. The changes taking place in the Anarchist camp in the direction of coordinated work with the other proletarian organizations and of strengthening the People's Front constitute one of the chief features of the present situation in Spain.

Similar phenomena are also to be observed in the other anti-fascist parties and organizations. Indications of this are the fact that the leadership of the Socialist Party has passed to a correct policy on the main questions of the defense of the republic, namely, regarding the organization of the army and the struggle for discipline, the rallying around the central government of all bourgeois-republican groups and the Basque nationalists; the joint harmonious participation of all the parties and organizations of the People's Front in the work of the Committee of Defense of Madrid. The Communists are indefatigable in fighting for the ever closer military-political and economic unification of the whole country into a single, indivisible fighting fraternal alliance of all the nationalities of Spain, with the following in view:

1. To bring about the maximium of unity in the leadership of all the armed republican forces, of all the actions and operations on all fronts;

2. To ensure the maximum productivity of the national economy for the requirements of defense, and the provision of rapid service for the army by the administrative apparatus of the state;

3. To ensure strict order in the rear, and the speedy suppression of all attempts by agents of fascism at sabotage, subversive acts, and provocation.

The only group opposed to the republic and the People's Front, besides the fascists operating underground—is the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite gang calling itself the "Workers' Party of Marxist Unity", or, in short, the P.O.U.M. (Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista). These disguised agents of Hitler and General Franco are trying to set in motion every possible means of provocation in order to facilitate the victory of fascism.

In Catalonia, where one of the Trotskyites succeeded in securing a place in the previous government and where at one time the Trotskyites enjoyed the support of the Anarchists, their foul acts of provocation, and in particular their loathsome calumny against the Soviet Union have led to their being thrown out of the government in disgrace.

The Trotskyites are doing their utmost to break down the defense of Madrid. They are carrying on underground activity in the besieged capital, hand in hand with the notorious fascist "Fifth Column". They have issued an illegal newspaper which has spread unbridled calumny against the government and the Committee for the Defense of Madrid. The masses of the people of Spain engaged in the fight for their freedom are dealing in revolutionary fashion with these counter-revolutionary provocateurs and bandits.

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"The special significance of the Spanish events," wrote Comrade Dimitroff in November of last year, "consists in the fact that they have demonstrated the mighty power of united proletarian action, the power of the People's Front in the struggle against fascism. For it is now quite clear to everybody that if there had been no united action brought about between the Communists, Socialists and Anarchist workers in Spain, if a broad fighting front of the Spanish people—from the Communists to the Left Republicans—had not been formed, the fascist generals would long ago have established their dictatorship."

The whole course of the civil war in Spain points to the colossal possibilities of the struggle of the masses against the fascist drive, on condition that the anti-fascist struggle is correctly approached and organized. The experience of Spain is proof of Comrade Dimitroff's words that fascism can be vanquished. Fascism *can* be crushed. The example of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people is convincing the working masses throughout the world that it is possible in any country, by mustering forces into a firm People's Front, not only to withstand the fascist drive, but also to crush fascism, and, if it inflicts civil war upon the people, to smash it by force of arms.

The cause of democracy and peace, the cause of the struggle against fascism and war in all countries of the world, is indissolubly linked up with the interests of the People's Front in Spain. Everyone to whom peace and liberty are dear must say: my Spanish brothers are fighting for *my* cause, for *my* life; it is against *me* that the bayonets, bombs and hand grenades of the fascist assassins are turned; it is *my* duty to help crush the fascist bandits.

Anti-fascists of all countries are rendering moral and material aid to the fighters of republican Spain. Many of them are yielding up their most valuable possession, their lives, by joining the ranks of the international brigades, which are fighting as a component part of the united Spanish people's army.

With the transformation of the civil war in Spain into a war of defense not only against the fascist rebels but also against the invasion of the German and Italian interventionists, the struggle of the Spanish people entered into a new phase, demanding the most tremendous exertion of all their forces. The international movement of solidarity with and support for the Spanish people is also entering a new phase. More than ever before it demands the mobilization of aid from the masses in their millions. More than ever before it demands an intensification of mass pressure on the governments of non-fascist countries so as effectively to bar the way to the fascist interventionists, who are brazenly heading for the outbreak of a new world slaughter. It demands the utmost practical aid in all forms for our fighting Spanish brothers.

It demands more imperatively than ever before of all organizations without exception, of every individual without exception in whose breast there beats an honest human heart, of all men, women, and young people in each country, that they unite their forces and act together in aid of the bleeding Spanish people. It demands, finally, true, effective, and organized *unity on an international scale* of all friends of the Spanish people.

The main task facing advanced workers in all countries is to work incessantly to achieve this unity.

The Economic Prospects of England

BY EUGENE VARGA

THE most important points noticeable in the economic development of England in the last six years are the following:

1. Industrial production reached the pre-war level only in 1929. In England there was no real boom before the crisis of 1929. This lagging behind of England compared to other capitalist countries is due mainly to the relatively great importance of those branches of industry in England which in all old industrial countries are in a state of chronic crisis —mining, textile, ship-building. Apart from this England's economy, which depends to a great extent on the export of industrial goods, has been seriously affected by the process of industrialization in agrarian countries.

2. The economic crisis in England was not as deep or as acute as in other big industrial countries. No big bank went smash; generally there were very few big bankruptcies (with the exception of a few speculative undertakings, like those of Hatry, for example). The credit crisis was lessened by going off the gold standard in good time and the devaluation of the pound.

3. The lowest point of the crisis in England was reached earlier than in other big industrial countries with the exception of Japan. The depth of the crisis was very much less than in Germany, America or France.

4. In 1932 there began an improvement in the economic situation in England which approached a "normal" movement of the industrial cycle. The depression passed over into a revival, the revival into the present boom.*

Industrial production in 1936 was about 15 per cent higher than in 1929. The number of workers employed (according to the insurance statistics) reached 11,000,000—the highest figure in the history of England. Some branches of industry—steel, machine building, airplanes—are practically working at full capacity, and many months are required for delivery of orders. (It is characteristic of the degree of employment in the airplane industry that in recent weeks the English government gave permission to the state-subsidized airplane company to import passenger airplanes from America as the works in England would only be able to supply these in the course of some months.)

In 1925 the relative position of important branches of English industry was already better than in 1929:

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* The lowest point of industrial production according to the Board of Trade Index was in the third quarter of 1932; according to the Index of the London and Cambridge Economic Service in the second quarter of 1932; according to *The Economist*, in October, 1931.

ENGLAND'S SHARE IN WORLD PRODUCTION*

	Per Cent	
	1929	1935
Coal Production.....	18.9	20.2
Iron Production.....	7.8	9.2
Steel Production.....	8.1	10.4

The improvement in the economic situation of England is exclusively based on the home market. England's export is absolutely and relatively smaller than in 1929.

Of the value of the entire product in England, the share which fell to export amounted to: **

Year	*Per Cent.*
1924-5	21-24
1930-31	15.5-20
1934	13.5-16.5

The causes of the great improvement of the economic situation in England in recent years are the following:

(a) The inner forces of capitalism which have called forth a cyclical improvement.

(b) The effects of going off the gold standard.

(c) Extensive building activity.

(d) Armaments.

As far as the effect of the inner forces of capitalism is concerned it is not necessary to go deeply into this. We would only like to remark that just because of the lack of a boom before the crisis the inner forces of capitalism were more effective in England than in Germany or America, where as a result of the tremendous extension of fixed capital before the crisis there was a tremendous unused capacity for production in industry which restricted the renewal and expansion of fixed capital, the building of factories, etc. Therefore, in England at the present time there is a much greater expansion of fixed capital, renewal of machinery, rationalization, building of new factories, than in the other industrial countries.

Very favorable results were obtained for English economy by going off the gold standard. This took place at a time when the gold prices on the world market were rapidly falling; and in particular the prices of raw materials and foodstuffs of particular importance for England. The two tendencies of the price movement—the tendency to fall on the world market, and the tendency to rise in England as the result of the devaluation of the pound—neutralized themselves, so that in England the level of prices since 1930 has not passed through that sharp fall which created such a difficult situation for the capitalists in the United States, Germany and France.

BOARD OF TRADE INDEX OF PRICES

(1929 equals 100)

					August
1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
76.8	74.9	75.0	74.1	77.9	83.4

As we see, the fall in prices came to a stop in 1931 and in the last two years is showing a tendency to rise.*

Compared with this, in France, in the course of the crisis, the price index fell to 51.4; in the United States and Germany to 68.

The devaluation of the pound, as is known, went on steadily. The yearly average compared with gold was as follows:

1932	*1933*	*1934*	*1935*
28%	32%	38.2%	40.2%

Since 1935 the pound has continued at about the same level.

In judging the effects of going off the gold standard the fact must be taken into

* Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations.

** Calculation by Daniels and Campion in the special memorandum of the London and Cambridge Economic Service.

* We take the index of the Board of Trade as the guide, not that of *The Statist* or *The Economist*, because the latter are based almost exclusively on raw materials.

consideration that those countries which economically are the most connected with England (all countries in the British Empire, the Scandinavian countries, some South American countries) have regulated their currency so that the pound, in spite of its devaluation, is still effective as international currency as far as they are concerned. About one-third of the population of the earth is embraced in the sterling bloc, which considerably lessened the disturbing effect of England's going off the gold standard.

It must further be taken into consideration that England, as the greatest purchaser of raw materials and foodstuffs in the world market, was able, after going off the gold standard, to depress the prices in gold on the world market and thereby prevent a rise in prices in pounds on imported goods.

Going off the gold standard in good time made it possible to lessen the burden of debt for the debtors, to avoid upsetting the credit system, and achieving fluidity of money, a surplus in loan capital which forms the basis of the tremendous activity in house-building in recent years. There is no doubt that the boom in building in England is one of the most important factors of cyclical improvement.

VALUE OF NEW BUILDINGS*

(1929 equals 100)

Year	*Houses*	*Industry & Trade*	*Other Buildings*	*Total*
1931	91.5	65.5	87.2	86.2
1932	105.9	64.5	69.1	90.6
1933	140.8	66.6	79.6	114.5
1934	157.2	91.5	89.1	130.7
1935	177.2	128.5	121.5	156.4

As far as the armaments industry is concerned there is no doubt that its importance as a factor in the prosperity of England is very great, particularly in 1936, but it is not in any way decisive as in Germany and Japan. It is difficult to give a statistical estimation. The increased expenditure for England's defense which can be seen in the budget is only a small, insignificant part of the actual expenditure. What is more important from the point of view of the economic situation is that the capitalists are erecting industrial works which can partly be kept in reserve for future war supplies ("shadow" factories) and that branches of industry are being developed with state assistance for the purpose of producing in England in the case of war raw materials up to now imported, production of petrol from coal, sugar beet factories, etc.

INCREASE IN THE PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR AND RATIONALIZATION

In connection with the cyclical boom in industry in England there is a considerable rise in the productivity of labor and a great advance in rationalization.

There are no all-embracing data about the rise of the productivity of labor. This can only be calculated on the data of the census of production. The last census took place in 1930. But there are certain figures on the rise of productivity of labor.

In 1929, coal extraction was only 22 per cent mechanized, in 1934, 47 per cent.

In 1929, the production of a blast furnace was 48,000 tons of pig iron, in 1934, 62,000 tons.

The use of coal (coke calculated in coal equivalents) for one ton of pig iron in 1929 was 1.6 tons, in 1934, 1.48 tons.

In the textile industry during the last few years old machinery has been to a certain extent replaced by new, while spindles and looms have been speeded up. The number of looms per worker has increased, etc.

Similar to the United States before the 1929 crisis, in a number of branches of industry there have been far reaching standardization and rate fixing.

For increasing the productivity of la-

* Calculation of League of Nations.

bor new systems of pay have been introduced, partly in agreement with the trade unions, partly against the resistance of the workers.

UNEVENNESS IN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

If we analyze the increase in industrial production according to branches of industry, we find great unevenness in their development. If we take the production of 1924 as equal to 100 we get the following development in the last seven years:

	1929	1932	1935
Non-ferrous metals	120.5	96.3	166.1
Machinery and Shipbuilding ..	121.0	88.6	124.9
Mining	96.8	77.5	83.6
Textile	98.5	85.1	96.5
Total Industry...	111.8	93.3	118.2

This unevenness is even more acute if we consider not industrial groups but separate branches of industry. The production of artificial silk has been more than doubled between 1929 and 1935, the production of motors rose by 60 per cent, the production of electric power by 40 per cent. On the other hand, the production of coal and pig iron in 1935 was still below the level of 1913. Steel production passed the level of 1929 only to a very slight extent, the consumption of cotton in 1935 was 15 per cent less than in 1929 and was only 55 per cent of the consumption in 1913. New shipbuilding tonnage in 1935 was only one-third of 1929 and one-fourth of 1913.

Great geographical unevenness in the location of industry is closely bound up with this noticeable shift in the height of production in individual branches of industry. Those districts in which the old depressed branches of industry are situated—the textile district around Manchester, the mining district of South Wales, working chiefly for export, and the centers of shipbuilding on the Clyde —have become depressed areas, where hundreds of thousands of workers are permanently unemployed and have scarcely any hope of finding work again in their own trade. All attempts to bring unemployed miners once again into production have up to now been completely unsuccessful.*

On the other hand there is a big growth of industry in London and in the Southeast of England in the districts where new industries have been strongly developed. Unemployment in these districts, therefore, is relatively much less than in Wales or in the textile areas.

Apart from this shift in the development of the "old" and "new" industries the process of the relative lessening of the number of workers who directly create value compared to those who take no part directly in productive work is continuing. If, on the basis of the figures of insured persons we take a rough division between productive and nonproductive work then we get the following development (*Ministry of Labor Gazette*, November, 1936, page 395):**

Out of 100 employed there were:

	1929	1932	1936
Productive workers ..	68.8	66.5	65.5
Unproductive workers	31.2	33.5	34.5

As we see, in these six years there has been a shift of 3 per cent from productive

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* It should be remembered that after the war about 1,000,000 workers were employed in and about the mines, whereas at the present time the number of insured is 896,000 of which nearly 20 per cent are unemployed.

** In the group of productive workers we include: fishing, mining, industry, building, gas, water and electric works. In the group of nonproductive employees: transport, trade, banking, insurance, hotel, restaurant and cinema workers, government and municipal employees. The division naturally is not exact, as on the one hand there are workers working in industry who are unproductive; foremen, watchmen, overlookers, etc., on the other hand, in transport and trade some productive work is carried on.

into unproductive branches. There are about half a million workers more at the present time in unproductive branches of economy than six years ago.

The actual shift is even greater, for the number of unemployed in the spheres of work counted in the productive branches is relatively greater than in the non-productive.*

Statistical data show that the national income of England expressed not in money but in products is considerably greater now than in 1929. This is hidden by the fact that the volume of industrial production of England is 15 per cent higher at the present time than in 1929.

The improvement in the economic situation is accompanied by a noticeable rise in the profits of capital. The index of the total sum of profits calculated each year by the statistician Sir Josiah Stamp shows the following picture:

Index of Profits:
(1929 equals 100)

1932	*1933*	*1934*	*1935*
71.1	82.6	98.8	114.0

In 1936 there was undoubtedly a much greater increase in the profits of English capital. The consistent rise in the quotations of English industrial shares on the stock exchange shows this; if we take 1929 as equal to 100 the index of the stock market for 1935 is 100.7, for September, 1936, 120.1.

The great unevenness in the development of production according to the different industries naturally produces great inequality in profits. In the armaments industry, in the new branches of industry, profits are very high; but a large part of the firms in the depressed branches of industry, mines and cotton, are working at a loss or at a very low profit.

The development of monopoly in recent years has been considerable and is actively supported by the state through the Bank of England. In iron and steel, in mining, in textile, monopoly organizations have been formed with state assistance, which further the formation of monopolies by buying up and closing unprofitable factories. The formation of monopoly is extending largely in commerce. The importance of chain stores is becoming greater. If we also take the activity of the semi-state monopoly organizations like the Milk Marketing Board, it is clear that the position of the English middle classes, traders, and owners of small workshops is being steadily worsened as a result of the growing power of monopoly. Naturally this is grist to the mill of Mosley's fascist agitation.

In the conditions of the working class, chronic mass unemployment still remains as a basic fact. Although the volume of industrial production is 15 per cent higher than in 1929, at the present time *every eighth worker in England is completely unemployed.* (On October 26, 1936, the official published figure of unemployment among insured workers was 12.1 per cent.)

The position of the fully employed worker shows a certain improvement. The reduction in wages which took place during the crisis has been almost completely won back, and as the cost of living, at least according to the official index, has fallen by more than 10 per cent, it would appear that the real wages of the fully employed worker have risen somewhat. But the official index of the cost of living, as has always been emphasized and proved by the English trade unions, is obsolete and shows a reduction in the cost of living which does not correspond to the truth. In the course of the last three years the cost of living, particularly the price of food, shows a tendency to rise as a result of the rise in prices on the world market, and as a result of protection in agriculture.

Corresponding to the unevenness of employment in the different branches of industry, wages are also very uneven.

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* English statistics give no calculation from this aspect.

Wages of the miners and textile workers remain unchanged at their present low level, whereas the employed worker in the armament industry and the new industries is in a relatively better position.

The position of the great mass of unemployed is extraordinarily bad. Unemployment insurance, owing to the introduction of the Means Test, has been reduced and the number on poor relief is growing from year to year in spite of the growing improvement of the economic situation.

Number on Poor Relief

Year	*Amount*	*Of Every 10,000 of the Population*
1929	1,462,000	320
1932	1,501,000	325
1933	1,823,000	393
1934	1,880,000	404
1935	2,048,000	439

This shows that in 1935 in wealthy England more than 2,000,000 people, every twenty-fourth person, received poor relief. The tremendous wealth of the English ruling classes, the ever-increasing luxury and parasitism are in contrast with the fact of 1,500,000 unemployed and 2,000,000 paupers.

THE PERSPECTIVES

The present boom in England, as is known, is based on heavy building activity, on the renewal and extension of fixed capital and on the large increase in armaments. It is a more or less normal cyclical phase of prosperity which, like every phase of prosperity, will come to an end before long through the outbreak of a new economic crisis. When this will happen naturally cannot be prophesied exactly. It depends upon many factors.

As far as the building industry is concerned it is clear that the development of house building has already passed its peak. The building of new workers' houses has already come up against the capacity of the English workers to pay. The reduction in the building of workers' houses is, at the present moment, still compensated for by an increased building of houses for the middle classes, particularly in the neighborhood of large towns, and by the further extension of factory building.

As far as the renewal and expansion of fixed capital is concerned—machines, apparatus, instruments, new factories, etc.—this will also come to an end before long. The improvement in the economic situation in England began at the end of 1931. By analogy with previous cycles it may be supposed that the extension of fixed capital will come to an end five to six years after it began.

The most difficult to prophecy are the prospects of armaments. Here we must make a difference between two factors. First, the increase in munitions themselves, that is, the increase and renewal of artillery, tanks, the air fleet, etc. Second, extension of existing factories and the building of new ones for the needs of munitions in the coming war. This second part of armaments is at the present time still developing but should come to an end as soon as the capacity of the rebuilt and reorganized armament industry in England has reached the scale required for the world war. (Munitions of all kinds for the world war cannot be produced beforehand, but must be done during the war.)

The development of the capitalist world as a whole will also have a serious influence on the development of the cycle in England; if there is a phase of prosperity in other countries, particularly in the United States, this, by increased exports and lessened imports of industrial goods, can lengthen the phase of English prosperity. But not this, but rather the home market, is the decisive factor for England.

Taking all circumstances into consideration it is certain that the conditions of a new cyclical crisis in England are rapidly maturing. ***The crisis can break out in 1937 but it is scarcely likely that***

it will break out later than 1938. That is, of course, only if a world war does not break out first. If the war breaks out first, then the cyclical movement of production will be interrupted independently of whether England herself immediately takes part in the war or not, and in place of the outbreak of a new economic crisis, there will be war economy.

Thus, this "favorable situation" for capitalist economy is at the same time an opportunity for the workers in their trade unions to press forward with all their economic demands.

This opportunity should be utilized to the maximum by all the militant workers and should not be limited merely to wage increases, but should extend to hours of labor, conditions in the workshops, etc., etc. At the same time, this maximum effect will only be obtained if the drive for amalgamation and unification takes place together with the drive for the democratization of the unions. Then the conditions will favor the development of a united militant movement of the working class against the bourgeoisie, and then also greater solidarity will be brought about in the ranks of the working class than ever before.

The Struggle Against the Penetration of Hitler Fascism Into the Balkans

BY F. SPIRIDONOV

ONE of the chief objects of Hitler's aggression is the Southeast of Europe. The Danube Basin in Europe and the Balkans are of especial importance to fascist Germany from the point of view of the war it is preparing for a new division of the world and for the establishment of German hegemony in Europe and throughout the world.

The agricultural products, industrial crops, cattle and ores which form the wealth of Southeast Europe could play a considerable part in the preparation of the economic life of Germany for a big war. The strengthening of Hitler Germany's economic and political influence in the Danube Basin and the Balkans would enhance its position on the world imperialist arena in relation to its chief rivals, England and France, in the struggle for colonies and for hegemony in Europe. Finally, Southeast Europe and the Balkans could be utilized as a jumping-off ground and a source of cannon fodder in the crusade being planned by Hitler against the Soviet Union. This explains why the pressure upon Southeast Europe has been increasing from year to year ever since Hitler came to power.

After the World War new conditions were created for the penetration of German imperialism into Southeast Europe. The Austro-Hungarian empire fell to pieces, and today Southeast Europe is divided into a host of small states among which are Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, which came out of the war vanquished and with their territory cut down.

Discontented with the peace treaties, they constitute favorable soil for the intrigues of German imperialism. The remaining states are grouped in the Little and Balkan Ententes, but considerable contradictions exist among them.

Until quite recently, France and Italy were the fundamental forces fighting for influence in the Balkans. In recent years, however, the position has changed considerably. The Ethiopian war weakened Italy's position in the Balkans. All the Balkan states (with the exception of Albania) took part in the sanctions of the League of Nations against Italy. Greece, Turkey and Jugoslavia signed an agreement with Great Britain to help the British fleet in the event of her being attacked by Italy.

The position of France has also weakened considerably in the Balkans, whereas the influence of Hitler Germany has grown there. Pro-Hitler tendencies are also growing in Jugoslavia, Rumania, Greece and Bulgaria.

The increase of Germany's influence is chiefly at the expense of France. Italy formerly had pretensions toward embracing the whole of the Balkans in her sphere of influence but has at the present

time been compelled to enter into an agreement with Germany for the division of spheres of influence. This was the question raised during the negotiations between Count Ciano and Hitler. Hitler's diplomats are carrying on intrigues among the powers of the Little and Balkan Ententes, their efforts being directed toward weakening or putting an end to these agreements, or toward winning over these powers. Hitler's diplomats are endeavoring to overcome the fear aroused among these powers by Hitler's aggression and the expansionist plans of the revisionists, by scaring them with the "Bolshevik menace".

Goebbels, who recently visited Greece as a "tourist", openly called upon the Balkan states to join in the counter-revolutionary war being prepared by Hitler against the Soviet Union. In 1935, as a result of the pressure it exerted, Hitler diplomacy succeeded in disrupting the negotiations for the conclusion of a trade agreement between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, and today it is conducting a campaign for the severing of diplomatic relations between these two countries. The resignation of Titulescu, which was the outcome of Hitler's intrigues in Rumania, is also an important step in Hitler's campaign against the Soviet Union.

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The penetration of Hitler Germany into the Balkans is taking place along divers roads: by the strengthening of economic relations with the Balkan countries, through political pressure, fascist propaganda, active support afforded to fascist organizations in the Balkans, and so on.

Germany has utilized the difficulties of the Balkan countries as a result of the economic crisis in finding markets for their agricultural produce, to make the foreign trade of the Balkan states dependent upon itself. At the same time an increase is also taking place in the exports from Germany to the Balkans, since Germany's foreign trade is based on the clearing system (payment in goods).

In 1930, Bulgaria's imports from Germany amounted to 23 per cent of her total imports, while exports to Germany were 26 per cent of the total. For the first four months of 1936 these figures were 64 per cent and 61 per cent respectively.

In 1932, Turkey's imports from Germany amounted to 18 per cent of Turkey's total imports while in 1936 it amounted to 40 per cent. Almost half of Turkey's exports go to Germany, which monopolizes the purchase of a number of important Turkish export products.

During the first half of 1933, goods to the value of 8,000,000 marks were exported from Germany into Greece, while for the same period in 1935, the figure was 20,000,000 marks. The imports from France, on the other hand, decreased from 267,000,000 francs in 1930 to 66,000,000 in 1933 and 17,000,000 during the first half of 1935. The influence of Germany upon exports from Greece has increased still more. In 1933, the exports from Greece to Germany amounted to 918,000,000 drachmas, in 1934 to 1,300,000,000, in 1935 to 2,100,000,000, and in the first half of 1936 to 1,320,000,000, *i.e.*, to approximately 45 per cent of Greece's total exports.

Germany's share in the imports of Jugoslavia in 1930 amounted to 13 per cent of the latter's total imports, and in 1935 to 25 per cent. In 1936 the economic ties between Jugoslavia and Germany increased still further. During the first half of 1936, trade between Jugoslavia and Germany almost doubled, whereas at the same time Jugoslavia's exports to France decreased from 157,000,000 francs during the first nine month of 1930 to 20,000,000 marks for the corresponding period of 1935.

A similar state of affairs also exists in Rumania.

The increase in Germany's economic penetration into the Balkan countries is no accident; it is the result of a policy

systematically pursued, of a strictly elaborate plan. During the years of the economic crisis, Germany, unlike other countries, bought up agricultural products from the Balkan countries in unlimited quantities, and at prices higher even than those reigning on the world market. Germany's purchases in the Balkans rapidly increased, and the balance of trade was an active one in favor of the Balkan countries. But Germany did not allow any currency to be exported in exchange for the goods she imported. Part of the money for the goods received went to pay off the old debts of the Balkan states to Germany, German traders and banks, while the remainder has been frozen in German banks. Instead of money, Germany offered her own industrial products and first and foremost arms.

The frozen credits quickly rose to an enormous figure. For example, German indebtedness to Greece reached 1,509,000,000 drachmas; to Jugoslavia, 400,000,000 dinars. The small Balkan countries ruined by the crisis became the creditors of Hitler Germany. And Germany made use of this fact to rob them by forcing them to increase their purchases in Germany, by palming off on them goods of inferior quality at increased prices, and by compelling them needlessly to buy goods which their own local industries could produce.

Thus, in 1935, Bulgaria was compelled to import a considerable quantity of textile goods, although the Bulgarian textile industry was in a position to satisfy almost the whole demand for these goods. This led to restriction of production and even to the closing down of a number of textile factories in Bulgaria. Jugoslavia gave all its orders for railroad equipment to German industry, a fact which led to the almost complete closing down of the Slavon, Brod and other metallurgical works in Jugoslavia. Germany utilized the goods she imported from the Balkan countries, tobacco, for example, and for which she paid in paper marks or her own industrial products, for purposes of export to other countries, so as thereby to accumulate foreign currency.

It was in order still further to strengthen Germany's economic position in the Balkans that Schacht visited Jugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece, and also Turkey and Rumania, last year. A decision has been taken to set up in 1937 a German Inter-Balkan Bank with a capital of 100,000,000 marks, with headquarters in Belgrade and branches in all the Balkan countries.

In Jugoslavia, Schacht obtained a number of orders for the German metallurgical industry, including a concession for Krupps for the construction of a metallurgical plant in Zenitz. Negotiations are being conducted for the exploitation of bauxite deposits, and for a concession in connection with the building of an aluminum plant in Bosnia. German capital is also interested in the gold fields of Bosnia. In Bulgaria Schacht was particularly interested in the great coal mines of Pernik, and in the iron and copper ores.

Germany is participating in the industrialization of Turkey, supplying the new factories and plants with German equipment. Shacht encouraged the increase in industrial crops (flax, hemp, cotton, soy beans, etc.) in all directions. Lufthansa, a German company, has organized a series of air lines in Jugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece; in Jugoslavia, moreover, it has obtained the right to use a military airdrome.

The growth of Germany's economic penetration into the Balkans is taking place at the expense of other exporting countries, in which this fact causes some alarm. The French newspaper *Evenements* wrote as follows, in March, 1936:

"Germany's economic penetration into the Balkans is growing from day to day. This cannot fail also to augment the political influence and authority of Hitler diplomacy in the Balkan countries. This increase is taking place, first and foremost at the expense of France, which is more and more being squeezed out of the Balkan markets."

The Swiss *Neue Zuricher Zeitung* wrote as follows in the summer of 1936:

"Germany continues to pursue ner plan, which consists of strengthening trade relations with the Balkan countries at the price of their economic independence and at the expense of the other European states which compete against Germany in the Balkans. . . . While we can expect a considerable increase in orders from Jugoslavia to Germany during the coming months, British exports have been eliminated from the markets of Jugoslavia until the end of this year."

It was the consciousness of the growing danger resulting from Germany's increased economic penetration into the Balkans that compelled France and Great Britain to adopt the following special measures: a trade agreement has been signed in Belgrade by Bastide, the French Minister of Trade, on terms very favorable to Jugoslavia. Delbos and Bastide are to visit Bucharest; while Great Britain has also concluded a trade agreement with Jugoslavia.

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Simultaneously with this increase in the Balkans of Germany's economic influence, which threatens to transform them into agrarian appendages of German imperialism economically dependent upon Germany, is also growing the political influence of Hitler Germany. The economic dependence of the agrarian Balkan countries upon German markets is only one of the weapons of German policy, and by no means the only one. German diplomacy utilizes the contradictions which exist among the Balkan and Danube countries to set them one against another and weaken them. It is trying to weaken, and then completely to do away with, the Little and Balkan Ententes, in order to draw the Balkan and Danube countries into its own orbit. There are no means to which it does not resort in order to achieve its ends, skilfully adapting itself to the conditions in each given country.

German diplomacy is trying to draw Hungary and Bulgaria into its bloc by raising the banner of so-called revisionism, by playing the part of champion against the unjust peace treaties which were the outcome of the war of 1914-1918. It has to be admitted that this propaganda falls upon fertile soil, gaining for Germany the sympathy not only of fascist and semi-fascist elements, but even of a considerable section of those circles which are anti-fascist on questions of home policy in the given country.

In those countries, on the other hand, which are menaced by any revision of the peace treaties, and first and foremost in Rumania, Hitler diplomacy brings to the forefront the struggle against the "Bolshevik menace". The fact of the common frontier with the Soviet Union, and that the ruling classes of Rumania have no faith in the stability of their power, in consequence of the growing poverty and discontent of the masses—these points are being used by Hitler diplomacy to frighten the bourgeoisie, big and small, and to camouflage the real aims of Hitlerism. And these aims are to egg the Balkan countries on to war, and to encroach upon their democracy and liberty.

In Jugoslavia Hitler diplomacy plays upon the fear of the ruling classes of aggression by Italy. The viewpoint is energetically spread about that for Austria to link up with Germany is a lesser evil than an Italian protectorate over Austria, and especially than the restoration of the Hapsburgs. The idea is propagated that in its struggle against Italian imperialism Jugoslavia can find support in Germany. Negotiations have even been conducted for the cession to Jugoslavia of part of Austrian Corinthia, which is populated by Slovenes, by way of concession for Austria's joining Germany.

In order to weaken French influence in the states of the Little and Balkan Ententes, the idea is being advanced of the establishment of a bloc of neutral states, to include the Danube and Balkan states

ogether with Poland and the Baltic tates. It was Beck, the Polish Minister or Foreign Affairs, who put forward his idea, when he made a special jour- ey to Belgrade for this purpose. This dea is also meeting with wide support n political circles in Rumania.

For the purpose of weakening rela- ions between Jugoslavia and Rumania n the one hand, and Czechoslovakia on he other, the argument is being used hat Czechoslovakia is a state doomed to nevitable ruin, and that there is no point, herefore, in Jugoslavia and Rumania isking a big war in the interests of zechoslovakia. The danger of conflicts etween Jugoslavia and Italy is used as n argument for weakening connections etween Jugoslavia and Rumania, and etween Greece and Jugoslavia. The fact hat Titulescu, a prominent representa- ive of the French orientation, and the deologist of the Little and Balkan En- entes, has been forced to resign, and that here has recently been a renewal of the approchement between Rumania and Po- and, undoubtedly goes to show that here is a weakening of solidarity within he Little Entente and of French influ- nce. It was no accident that Titulescu's esignation was met with tremendous ubilation throughout the whole of the erman press, which unceremoniously randed Titulescu as an intriguer, a dip- omatic trickster, and even hinted un- mbiguously that it would not be a bad hing if this individual disappeared altо- ether from the political arena of Ru- nania. Formally the Little Entente con- inues to exist, but at the last conference, he Foreign Ministers of Jugoslavia and umania, Stoyadinovitch and Antonescu, eserved considerable freedom for them- elves for independent negotiations with taly and Germany.

In order to weaken Jugoslavia inter- ally and to make it a more easy prey, Hitler supports the separatist currents f Pavelich and Ivan Mihailov, by ex- loiting the discontent of the Croats and lacedonians, oppressed nations without ull rights.

Germany is encouraging the attempt at a rapprochement between Bulgaria and Jugoslavia, insofar as the aim of this is to break Jugoslavia away from the Little and Balkan Ententes and to set her against other Balkan countries, especially Greece and Turkey. It is no accident that the news of the preparation of an agreement of "eternal friendship" between Jugoslavia and Bulgaria was greeted with unconcealed alarm by the Greek, Rumanian, Turkish and, in particular, the French press.

German diplomacy is, parallel with Italian diplomacy, utilizing its influence over General Metaxas, the Greek dictator, in order to weaken relations between Greece and the Balkan Entente and to isolate Greece from the rest of the Balkan countries.

In Turkey, German diplomacy is trying to win over a section of the leadership of the Kemalist party, and to influence the policy of the government by trying to urge it on to the road of violent nationalism, anti-Semitism, authoritarianism, and of weakening relations with the Soviet Union.

In some of the Balkan countries (Rumania and Jugoslavia) Hitler meets considerable support for his work among the German population. In Rumania there are 1,200,000 Germans; in Jugoslavia, 500,000. In each country Hitler is trying to unite all Germans into one party, under the pretext that the German minorities will in this way best be able to fight against national oppression: "One nation, one party" is the slogan used by Hitler's agents among the German population in Rumania and Jugoslavia. The fascist organizations of the German population—the Deutsche Volkspartei, the German people's party in Rumania, and the Kulturbund, the Culture League in Jugoslavia—are financed by Hitler and conduct Hitler propaganda openly.

In Turkey, various German specialists engaged in industry and in the high schools and so on are engaged in the propaganda of Hitlerism.

In all the Balkan countries, Hitler fascism is conducting intense fascist propaganda.

Hitler's *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle") has been translated into the Turkish language. Books acclaiming the achievements of the "new" Germany are translated and published in Bulgaria, Turkey, and Rumania. Hitlerite newspapers are published, local newspapers are bribed, the cinema is widely utilized, presentations are made to universities and scientific institutes, scholars and students are provided with scholarships to study in German schools, excursions to Germany are arranged for teachers, doctors, newspaper correspondents, etc. Wide use is made of the sports movement (participation in the Olympiad).

To introduce fascism into the Balkan countries, and to win them over to the German bloc, Hitler's agents establish connections with the various local fascist organizations which exist in the Balkan countries. Hitler affords open support to these organizations, which he supplies with money, instructors, and even arms, and out of which he establishes his agencies within the countries to operate his policy.

Hitlerism seeks its agents first and foremost among the most reactionary sections of the ruling classes, who quake at the thought of losing their domination and are ready to resort to the last means, fascist dictatorship, in order to maintain their domination. Hitler Germany welcomes and supports the regimes of fascist dictatorship which are being set up in various Balkan countries. It does not conceal its sympathy toward the dictatorial regime of King Boris and Kissoivanov in Bulgaria, and is urging them to draw in Tsankov, its agent, and to set up an open fascist dictatorship on German lines. The German government was the first to welcome the Greek dictator, Metaxas, when he dissolved parliament in the beginning of August, 1936, and established a dictatorial regime. The German press approves and encourages every step taken in Rumania in the direction of the fascization of the country.

But the fascist parties in the Balkan countries know that they will only be able to fulfil the task before them, that of establishing a fascist regime, if they succeed in winning the support of large masses of the petty bourgeoisie. Following the example of Hitler and Mussolini, they are trying to create a broad fascist movement by bringing into play the most unbridled national and social demagogy.

They deck out their members in special uniforms, they open up clubs, arrange noisy processions and demonstrations, and spread the cult of "the strong personality", the "Fuehrer". Under the protection of the authorities and police, they organize armed storm troops, assaults upon the leaders of the democratic movement, and murders.

The fascist parties make skilful use of the lack of confidence current among the masses toward the old, thoroughly rotten bourgeois parties, so as to camouflage their struggle against democracy and for dictatorship, by putting forward slogans of struggle against bribery and embezzlement. The fascist parties devote special attention to the youth.

The fascist movement in Rumania can record considerable successes. It enjoys the open protection of the court camarilla, which is introducing a regime of martial law and preparing the ground for the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. The strongest fascist organization in Rumania is the National Christian Party of Goga and Kuza. It is an anti-Semitic, nationalist party with openly pro-German inclinations. In addition, there is the "Iron Guard" organization in Rumania which, after its formal dissolution, now exists under the title of the "All for the Fatherland" League—a military, fascist, terrorist organization. As far back as in 1933, it was responsible for the assassination of Prime Minister Duc, and now threatens to kill the leaders of the democratic parties, and first and foremost of the National Tsaranist Party. Both these fascist organizations, the National Christian Party and the

"All for the Fatherland" League, organize Jewish pogroms and smash up the offices of the democratic press. They devote special attention to work in those parts of Rumania which border upon the Soviet Union.

But apart from these openly fascist organizations, supporters of the pro-German and anti-Soviet orientation are to be found also in other political trends, for instance, in the "Rumanian Front" led by Vaida Voevod, which puts forward the idea of Rumania being "neutral" in the struggle between Germany and the Soviet Union; among the liberals led by Georgia Bratianu, in the shape of the *Kurentul*, an influential newspaper, and even among a number of the Right elements of the Tsaranist Party.

In Bulgaria Hitler's chief agency is Tsankov's "national-socialist" movement. In December of last year, Tsankov went to Berlin to report to Hitler and to draw up a plan for seizing power. Hitlerism is also meeting with strong support in court circles, especially from the former King Ferdinand and Prince Cyril, the brother of the present king. Hitlerism has supporters among those of the higher officers who are participating in Tsankov's plans for a military coup d'etat. Tsankov is forming storm detachments and carrying on organizational work among the masses.

Recently the Macedonian terrorist bands of Ivan Mihailov, who has obtained considerable resources from Hitler and has set about the restoration of his organization in close contact with Tsankov, have also entered the service of Germany. Among the youth, the so-called National Legions are carrying on work under the guidance of Hitler's instructors. But Hitler is even trying to spread his influence to some of the democratic organizations and, in particular, is exerting efforts to win over the leaders of the Agrarian League.

There are a number of fascist organizations in Jugoslavia, such as the Jugoslav National Party led by General Jivkovich, the Party of Letich and Hodjeri. A tendency toward concentrating the fascist forces under the common leadership of General Jivkovich is to be seen in Jugoslavia of late. Jivkovich maintains close contacts with the notorious officers' organization, the "White Hand", and is aiming at a military coup d'etat. Contacts with the Gestapo are maintained by the Croat separatists led by Pavelich and Perchetz, as revealed by the trial of the assassins of the late King of Jugoslavia.

In the government circles of Jugoslavia, the German orientation is supported by Stoyadinovich, the Prime Minister, and in particular by Korochetz, the Home Secretary and official leader of the Slovene Catholic Party, who recently declared in a newspaper interview that "the struggle against the common enemy, Bolshevism, brings Germany closer to Jugoslavia".

In Greece, the fascist organizations which existed before the Metaxas coup d'etat were weak and played no serious role. At the present time Hitlerism draws support from Dictator Metaxas, trained by the German General Staff. In 1914-15, Metaxas fought for the participation of Greece in the war on the side of Germany. The Metaxas dictatorship does not rest on the mass movement, but exclusively on the army and the gendarmerie. It is only now that Metaxas is making attempts to create some support for himself among the masses through the organization of corporations, a united youth league, unified trade unions, etc., even drawing in, for the purpose, a considerable section of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

In Turkey Hitler is trying to establish himself by obtaining the backing of the reactionary elements and those of the officers who were connected with German militarism in the past.

Basing itself on the fascist organizations in the Balkans, Hitler Germany is trying to bring the Balkan countries to fascism, to set up a regime of fascist dictatorship everywhere, and to transform these countries into his obedient vassals, into his tools in the big war be-

ing prepared for the new division of the globe.

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The Hitler menace is growing in the Balkans. It threatens to deprive the Balkan peoples of their economic and political independence, democratic rights and liberties, and to draw them into a new world slaughter.

Until quite recently the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries underestimated this danger and did not fight against it with sufficient energy and skill. They restricted themselves in the main to general agitation against the agents of fascism and against fascist intrigues. But they almost totally failed to make specific study as to *who* these agents are and *what* are their methods of working. But, as Comrade Dimitroff said at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, fascism is a cunning and dangerous enemy, of which one has to have a good knowledge in order to fight successfully against it.

And so among the basic tasks of the Communist Parties in the Balkans are the following: to make a systematic study of fascism in each of the Balkan countries, of its methods of work and of its agents there; to unmask in the most concrete fashion the system whereby Hitler works, the forces from which he draws support, as being enemies of the people and democracy and supporters of brute dictatorship, and to unmask the methods of bribery and corruption adopted by Hitler's agents.

At the same time there must be persistent work on a wide scale carried on among the masses to explain our position. The enslavement of the working people of Germany by fascism shows the masses of the people of the Balkan countries that just the same prospects of being fleeced, of poverty, slavery and war, will confront them if the government and the reactionary forces conclude an allegiance with Hitler.

The struggle against the illusions born of the increase in economic relations between the Balkan countries and Germany is a serious task. These relations are of advantage chiefly to the big landowners and exporters. But these sections of the population are conducting skillful demagogic agitation among the masses of the peasantry, depicting Germany as the savior of the Balkan peoples. In actual fact, in consequence of the onesided development of these economic relations with Germany, the Balkan countries are menaced with the tremendous danger of being transformed not merely into obedient tools of German fascism, but also into its semi-colonies.

Behind the increase in the economic penetration of Germany into the Balkans there lies a serious menace to world democracy and the cause of peace. Hitlerism, which pretends to be the "defender of civilization against Bolshevik barbarism", is preparing new wars for the conquest of foreign territories, behind the screen of a crusade against Bolshevism.

Hitlerism is trying to play the part of champion against the injustice of the peace agreements. Actually, what Hitlerism is striving for is not to afford the right of self-determination to the oppressed peoples, or to restore justice but to bring about a new division of the globe to its own advantage.

The struggle against the unjust peace treaties, and the defense of the oppressed national minorities, are the cause of the forces of democracy. It will be of great importance in this struggle for the Communist Parties correctly to raise the national question, and to advance specific slogans on questions affecting the population of whole countries.

In particular, in Jugoslavia, it is essential to stress the point that Germany will not defend her from the aggression of Italian fascism. For the contradictions between Italy and Germany are not so profound as to render it impossible to overcome them at the expense of the Balkan peoples, as revealed by the recent agreement between Germany and Italy

r the division of spheres of influence in e Balkans.

In short, the struggle against Hitler's netration into the Balkans must always a specific one. We must keep a sharp atch on the fascists, and rout them in ch position they take up.

The struggle against the Hitler men- e and fascism in the Balkans is a diffi- lt one. If it is to be conducted and con- cted with success, it is essential that e Communist Parties, and the demo- atic and anti-fascist forces, fully un- rstand the depth and acuteness of this enace. The masses of the people of the alkan countries are hostile to the war ing organized by Hitler. In Rumania nd Jugoslavia the masses of the people ill remember full well the devastation nd ruin which German imperialism ought down upon these countries dur- g the World War. The former allies of ermany during the war (Bulgaria and urkey) have not yet forgotten the high- nded attitude of German militarism nd the humiliating way it laid down the w in their countries. The masses of the eople in Slovenia and Transylvania still member the forcible "Teutonization" and "Magyarization" in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Hitler menace in the Balkans is great. Hitlerism has succeeded in establishing for itself numerous points of support in the Balkan countries, and is working methodically and with a purpose. At the same time, however, the forces of resistance to fascism and the Hitler influence, the forces of democracy, are on the increase in all the Balkan countries, though in varying degree. Hatred of war is on the increase, as is also the prestige of the Soviet Union, bulwark of peace and barrier against fascism.

The weakness of the popular and democratic camp lies in its dispersed character, in the efforts of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic leaders to find some sort of middle line, to avoid fascism, at the same time avoiding any decisive struggle against it by the united forces of the whole of democracy.

In the Balkan countries, as in all other capitalist countries, only a broad, powerful anti-fascist front of the people will bar the way against the offensive of the internal forces of fascism and the penetration of Hitlerism.

The Union of the Youth in Belgium

BY C. GENTENAAR

ON DECEMBER 25-27, 1936, there took place in Brussels the unity congress of the Socialist Youth organization ("Young Socialist Guard") affiliated to the Belgian Labor Party, and the Young Communist League. The organization adopted the name of the "United Young Guard".

The significance of the unity of the Belgian working class youth goes far beyond the bounds of an event which concerns the life of the youth alone, or of interest to one small country alone. Indeed, the circumstances in which the fusion of the youth organizations took place make it an important stage in the struggle for working class unity in Belgium and for the creation of a broad People's Front against fascism and war. At the same time the relative importance of the Belgian working class movement in Western Europe, and in particular the part played by the Belgian Labor Party in the Labor and Socialist International indicate the serious international importance of the unity of the Belgian youth now brought about.

There is quite a long history and prehistory attached to the unity of the Belgian youth. A few years ago attempts at unity, undertaken at the initiative of the Young Communist League, broke down as a result of the provocative intrigues of a Trotskyist group who were able to make use of the Socialist Youth for their own splitting purposes. Since then, however, the Trotskyist elements have been revealed in their true light to the Socialist Youth, and have been thrown out of the youth movement.

The question of the unity of the working class movement in Belgium, and particularly of the youth movement, was raised with new force in the summer of last year. The Parliamentary elections which took place at that time revealed, on the one hand, a menacing growth of the fascist danger, and on the other hand a big increase in the strength of the hitherto weak Communist Party, with at the same time a relative decline in the influence of the Labor Party. In these circumstances the idea of working class unity and of the anti-fascist People's Front propagated by the Communist Party won a large number of supporters and defenders, not only among the rank and file of the Labor Party, but also among a considerable section of its lower officials and even among its leaders.

The Communist Party, under the guidance of our never-to-be-forgotten Comrade Jacquemotte, decided to make a proposal to the Labor Party that the Communist Party join its ranks as an autonomous unit (the Belgian Labor Party is made up of trade union organizations, workers' cooperatives and local political groups). At the same time the Young Socialist and Young Communist Leagues also raised the question of the fusion in a practical way, elected a joint commission to prepare a unity congress and actually began to unite locally. At first

these measures called forth no objections from the leadership of the Labor Party.

In the autumn the situation changed. At the Congress of the Belgian Clerical (Catholic) Party, which took place in September, Premier Van Zeeland, head of the government which includes six Socialist Ministers, delivered a sharp attack against any united or People's Front which includes Communists. Following on this, Spaak and de Man, members of the government, and most reactionary of all Socialist leaders, made speeches calling for the creation of a "super-party" under the slogan "Neither Berlin nor Moscow", but actually directed against the Communists and Left elements in the labor movement, as well as against anti-fascist elements in other sections of the population, and aiming at a compromise with the fascists. Under the influence of these reactionary leaders, the Executive Council of the Trades Union Congress and then the General Council of the Labor Party adopted sharp resolutions against the united front.

Meanwhile enthusiastic preparations went on on a wide scale among the youth for the united congress which was to take place on December 25. Those who were engaged in building up unity among the youth of Belgium received inspiration from the Spanish events, the heroic struggle of the united Spanish Youth, the unanimous aid being afforded to their Spanish brothers, and the joint participation of the best of the young Belgian Communists and Socialists in the International Brigade defending Madrid. In these circumstances they were utterly thunderstruck by the circular of the Bureau of the General Council of the Labor Party directed against the unity of the Belgian Youth. This circular, published on December 18 in the *Peuple*, the central organ of the Labor Party, says:

"We know that you intend holding your congress at Christmas. The most important question which will be brought up for discussion will be that of the fusion of your organization with the organization of the Communist Youth.

"Since we bear the responsibility for the political guidance of our Party, we are obliged to inform you, in most friendly but firm fashion, that we can on no account agree to this fusion.

"The Belgian Labor Party, the Trade Union Commission, the Labor and Socialist International, and the International Federation of Trade Unions have expressed their views in a sense well known to you on the question of the relations between Socialists and Communists. There is no point in repeating or discussing the reasons for the decision adopted. These decisions must be everywhere observed.

"We cannot agree to there being two positions on this question inside the Party, namely, one—the position of the trade unions and the membership of the Labor Party, and the other—the position adopted by the members of the Youth organizations. . . .

"The leadership of the Labor Party consider it its duty on the eve of your congress to address itself to you in fraternal fashion, and to warn you against the decision you might adopt.

"You are sufficiently aware of the political situation existing today to know that your decisions may bring other decisions in their train. You are sufficiently experienced to be able to guess all the seriousness of these decisions. . . . "

This circular sounded like a downright *ultimatum*. It was not an easy thing for the leaders of the youth to conduct their Congress under these conditions. There could be no question of capitulating, of rejecting fusion with the Young Communist League; this fusion had been predetermined by the inflexible will of the overwhelming majority of the youth, and had become an accomplished fact even before the Congress.

But there was another danger. The foundation for the desire for unity among the youth was the acute discontent with the political line of the leadership of the Labor Party, a line directed toward collaboration with the bourgeoisie and, what is more, toward conciliation with fascism. Precisely because of the deliberately provocative way the question was raised by

the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party, tendencies toward a rupture with the Labor Party could be called forth or increased by this discontent—a situation which in turn would risk causing a split in the ranks of the youth movement itself. This was the aim of the enemies of unity, to convert the Congress—which was to be, and actually was a big step toward uniting the *whole* of the working class movement in Belgium on the lines of class struggle—into an act of schism.

This danger was completely averted. It was successfully averted because, first, the leaders of the Socialist youth saw the danger and so did not allow themselves to fall victims to provocation, but firmly stood by the line of unity with the Labor Party; second, because the leaders of the Young Communist League and the leadership of the Belgian Communist Party laid especially strong stress on *their* determination to pursue the tactics of unity in a consistent fashion, and voluntarily made the concessions and sacrifices which the position demanded; third, because the youth had the most valuable support of advocates of unity among the leaders of the Labor Party, namely, Comrades Brunfault, Marteux, Pierrard and De Brouckere.

The support in .particular of De Brouckere who, at any rate, is the Chairman of the Second International, was of importance, in view of the fact that the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party referred, in their circular addressed to the Congress, to the hostile attitude toward unity of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, which had none the less failed to prevent either the unification of the French trade unions or the fusion of the youth organizations in Spain.

Finally, the effect of the ultimatum of the Bureau of the Labor Party was at the last minute toned down by the fact that the two delegates of the General Council of the Labor Party present at the Congress themselves adopted a conciliatory attitude. They gave as their grounds for this the new facts revealed at the Congress, and, in particular, the speeches and declarations of the Communists.

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The central point in the report made by Fernand Godefroid, the Secretary of the Socialist Youth, was the question of unity and the attitude toward the Labor Party. He insisted upon the democratic nature of the youth congress which reflected the real wishes of its rank-and-file membership, and expressed the hope that the leadership of the Labor Party would not limit itself to expressing its own opinion, but would also give its local organizations, which are not less ardent in their desire for unity than the youth, the opportunity to express their opinion. He expressed his regret that there were no representatives present at the congress from the Flemish section of the youth organization, whose leaders had persuaded them to boycott the congress, but who would be alloted the corresponding number of places in the leadership of the united youth.

On the question of discipline, Godefroid pointed to the way no steps were taken against the *Rights*, drawing attention particularly to the example of Minister Spaak who had on numerous occasions and without further ado violated the decisions of the leadership of the Party and resolutions of the Socialist International. There was a proposal in the General Council of the Labor Party, said Godefroid, to restrict the activities of the youth to cultural work, and to set up a mixed leadership made up of representatives of the party and the youth. The youth, he said, were for increasing and extending their cultural and educational work to the utmost, but they could not permit their activities to be deprived of their political content at a moment when its best members were fighting in the trenches in Spain. The youth, he added, demand the same autonomy as that enjoyed by the trade unions, which also adopt political decisions and endeavor to influence the policy of the party.

Members of the youth organization could, if such were their convictions, also belong to the Communist Party. Referring to the example of Germany, where the absence of unity paved the way for fascism, Godefroid said: "We want unity in Belgium while there is yet time, unity not in prisons and in death, but unity in life, in struggle, in victory. There is no decision of the International such as can prevent us from bringing about unity—De Brouckere has said this publicly. I welcome De Brouckere", declared Godefroid, "who had advanced the slogan 'Unite or Perish!' Can the youth be condemned for doing as De Brouckere said?"

The first to speak in the name of the leadership of the Labor Party was Tofahrn. He began by saying that there were three methods of bringing about unity. Unity could be obtained "wholesale", *i.e.*, by the simultaneous fusion of the internationals and the parties; "semi-wholesale", *i.e.*, by fusion taking place in separate countries; and, finally, "retail", *i.e.*, by unity between certain forms of organizations, as was done in the French trade union movement.

The Labor Party, he said, was against the "retail" method; it must be obeyed. Then Tofahrn raised the question as to the aims being pursued by the Communists in seeking unity. "Is it possible," he asked, "that the Communists are here to ensure the prosperity of the Labor Party?" To which question the whole hall replied with a loud "Aye!" The Secretary of the Communist Party present at the Congress, Comrade Relcom, stood up, amid an ovation from the whole Congress, and declared: "Yes, we Communists want to strengthen the Labor Party through unity!" Confronted by this demonstration, Tofahrn declared: *"If the given problems have changed, then the Labor Party must be given an opportunity of examining them."* "I have the impression," he continued, "that we do not interpret all words in the same way. Consequently, we must meet you and discuss matters. We want to preserve your collaboration. You, perhaps, have blundered. But the position you have adopted will move the party to examine the question of the youth." Tofahrn devoted the latter part of his speech to developing the idea that the youth must first and foremost engage in cultural work and education, leaving politics to the party.

Following the representative of the General Council of the Labor Party, a report was delivered by Comrade Jonas, former secretary of the Young Communist League now a member of the leadership of the united youth, on the draft program declaration ("declaration of principles") of the youth, which was then passed unanimously by the Congress. The most important parts of this extensive document run as follows:

"The aims of the United Federation of Young Socialist Guard are as follows: (a) to organize the working youth to ensure the defense of their daily interests, and the winning of their economic, political and cultural rights; (b) to carry on the struggle against reaction, fascism and war; for freedom, peace and socialism; (c) to educate the youth on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the masters of socialist theory.

"The united federation considers that it cannot separate the struggle for immediate demands from the perspective of transforming capitalist society into socialist society. It is conscious of the fact that this aim can only be achieved through the working class winning power in open battle against the capitalist bourgeoisie.

"To conquer power the working class must secure an alliance with all the oppressed and exploited sections of the people. The united federation rejects collaboration with the capitalist class. In agreement with the Left sections of the Socialist Youth International, the united federation declares itself in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

"Big capital . . . resorts to terroristic and barbaric forms of dictatorship. It wants to force the fascist regime upon us. Confronted with this menace, the united federation will defend democracy

and the workers' liberties with all its might. It will encourage the gathering together of all defenders of freedom....

"The united federation, convinced of the grandeur of the achievements of the Soviet Union, expresses its active sympathy toward it.

"Continuing its affiliation to the Socialist Youth International, the united federation will continue to fight inside it to bring about unity with the Young Communist International.

"The United Federation remains affiliated to the Belgian Labor Party, and will work to strengthen it in the interests of the working class."

The resolution passed by the Congress on organizational questions contains the following paragraph:

"After an exhaustive discussion of the question of unity, the Congress, in reply to the appeal of the youth of Spain, enthusiastically approves the principles and methods of bringing about unity."

The resolution makes it the duty of the leadership of the united youth to send official reports to the *Voix du Peuple*, the central organ of the Belgian Communist Party, on equal terms with the Socialist press. It permits the members of the United Federation to write in the Communist press under the control of the leadership of the Federation.

For their part, the Communists joining the united organizations agreed, so as to ensure the better functioning of the Federation, that members of the united youth organization could not at the same time be members of leading bodies of the Communist Party. In pursuance of which, Comrade Jonas, member of the Young Communist League, declared that he was withdrawing from the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Communist Party, and Comrade Bosson, a member of Parliament, declared that while continuing to work for the youth organization, he would refrain from accepting any elected post in this organization.

The Congress also listened to a report on the struggle against war. However, in view of certain differences in tactics which made themselves apparent, namely, the line adopted by a section of the Left Socialist elements in the spirit of "pacifist radicalism," the Congress limited itself to adopting the following resolution:

"The Congress places on record the difficulties connected with an immediate formulation of the position of the movement against the war danger, declares that it is the will of the Socialist youth to fight for peace, and that it rejects any 'holy alliance' with the bourgeoisie, and instructs its National Committee to submit the whole question to a new and thorough discussion, after which a vote will be taken in all sections on the basis of the essential material."

Comrade Roland, the President, brought the Congress to a close with the following words:

"We shall go to the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party to defend our decisions loyally, honestly, but resolutely. We shall aim all our blows only against our opponents. As regards the General Council, we want only to defend ourselves."

* * *

At the last session of the joint congress, Comrade Raymond Guyot, General Secretary of the Young Communist International, who was present at the Congress, delivered a speech, in the course of which he said:

"Your unity is also of importance in that it is a big contribution to the cause of international unity. Permit me to inform you of the opinion of the Young Communist International on the subject of 'wholesale' unity, which has been mentioned here. *We want 'wholesale'* unity, we want unity between the Young Communist International and the Socialist Youth International, and I make the following declaration: We, the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, are prepared to enter into relations immediately with the leadership of the Socialist Youth International, with

a view to bringing this unity about, and we want to bring about this unity as quickly as possible. . . . "

And there and then Comrade Guyot proposed that joint action be commenced without delay on the most burning question, namely, that of aid to the Spanish youth fighting near Madrid and on all fronts in Spain in defense of peace and international democracy.

Comrade Guyot's speech was greeted with the prolonged applause and ovations of the Congress.

* * *

On January 8, 1937, the *Peuple*, central organ of the Labor Party, published the following decision of the Bureau of the Central Council of the Labor Party:

"The Bureau has acquainted itself with the decisions adopted by the Congress of the Young Socialist Guard. It has, with regret, to note that these decisions are contrary to the decisions of the Party. The Bureau draws attention to the fact that the Labor Party, wishing to remain what it is, and to preserve its independence in relation to all other political parties, has decided to make a new effort to reestablish agreement between the Party and the Young Socialist Guard, maintaining the principle of discipline for all groups and all persons belonging to the Labor Party. To this end the Bureau will invite a delegation of the Young Socialist Guard and will submit proposals."

There are grounds for hoping that in the interests of the unity of the working class movement in Belgium, an agreement will be arrived at which does not violate the main line of the decisions of the joint youth congress. The guarantee of this is the warm reception with which these decisions were greeted among the workers and active members of the Labor Party itself.

Decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on the Work of the Communist Party of Spain

THE Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International places on record the supreme heroism and self-sacrifice of the Spanish people, who, by defending the Spanish Republic and their rights and liberties against bloody fascist barbarism, are thus defending the cause of peace and the common cause of all that is advanced and progressive in mankind. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. warmly greets the valiant Spanish people and their People's Front, their republican army, and expresses its deepest confidence that the Spanish people, surrounded by the support of the anti-fascist forces of the world, will secure a decisive victory over the forces of Spanish fascism and the forces of the German and Italian fascist interventionists, these incendiaries of a world war, who have invaded the territory of Spain.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. endorses the line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, which mobilizes the members of the Party and all the masses of the people for the struggle against the fascists, who are trying to destroy the parliamentary regime and set up a fascist dictatorship. The Presidium endorses this line of defending and consolidating the democratic parliamentary republic which guarantees all the rights and liberties of the Spanish people, of defending and consolidating the republic of the People's Front in which the material basis of fascism will be undermined and in which there will be no place for fascism, and where the people will be able to express their will freely and decide their own fate.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. regards as absolutely correct the policy pursued by the Communist Party to strengthen the People's Front in every way, to consolidate all anti-fascist forces still more, further to consolidate fighting cooperation and fraternal relations among the Republicans, Socialists, Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalists, because complete unity in the ranks of the People's Front is the decisive condition for the defeat of fascism. The strengthening of fraternal relations with the Anarcho-Syndicalists, which is extremely necessary and toward which the Communist Party is sincerely striving, is facilitated by the fact that the C.N.T. in practice has lately shown its ability in a number of cases to draw the correct tactical conclusions from the lessons of the events, has realized the necessity for forming a strong people's republican army, has come out in favor of inculcating military-revolutionary discipline at the front and in the rear, is participating in the government, is showing its readiness to assist the formation of a united centralized leadership of military operations on all fronts. The vital interests of the Spanish people demand determined resistance to the attacks of the enemy, who through his agents, spies and provocateurs, is trying to destroy the unity of the People's Front from within by undermining mutual confidence and inflaming the inner struggle in the ranks of the parties and organizations of the People's Front.

The Presidium considers as correct the struggle carried on by the Communist Party and supported by other organizations of the People's Front against the Trotskyites as agents of fascism, fulfilling provocative work in the interests of Hitler and General Franco, trying to split the People's Front, carrying on a counter-revolutionary campaign of slander against the U.S.S.R. and using all means, all possible intrigues and demagogic methods to prevent the defeat of fascism in Spain. Recognizing that the Trotskyites are carrying on destructive work behind the lines of the republican army in the interests of fascism, the Presidium endorses the line of the Party for the complete and final crushing of Trotskyism in Spain, which is necessary to obtain victory over fascism.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. considers as absolutely correct the policy pursued by the Communist Party of most actively supporting and strengthening the government of the republic led by Largo Caballero, a government consisting of representatives of all the parties and organiaztions in the People's Front.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. considers as correct the position taken by the Party against wholesale nationalization of industry. It fully associates itself with the Party's line that nationalization should be determined by the interests of the defense of the republic, should be directed against the attempts of the enemies of the people to organize sabotage and economic destruction, and also should be carried out in the case of factories belonging to persons participating directly or indirectly in the rebellion.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. endorses the line taken by the Party for a close alliance between the working class and the peasantry and other sections of the toilers and, in accordance with this, the transfer to the peasants of the land taken from fascist owners, the line for guarding and protecting the property rights and interests of small and middle owners, the line for suppressing requisitions from the working population of the villages and towns. Hasty attempts to carry out the collectivization of peasant farms can in present conditions only hinder the common cause of the People's Front in the struggle against the fascist rebels.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. fully endorses the line taken by the Party for the ever closer military-political and economic unification of the whole country into a single indissoluble fighting brotherly union of all nationalities of Spain with the aim of securing the greatest possible unity in the leadership of all the republican armed forces, of all actions and operations at all fronts, with the aim of ensuring the maximum productivity of national economy for the needs of defense, with the aim of ensuring firm public order and the rapid suppression of the sabotaging, diversionist and provocative attacks of the agents of fascism.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. welcomes and gives every support to the campaign of solidarity with the Spanish people developed by the international proletariat and democratic forces in all countries, and calls for the utilization of the extremely wide possibilities which still exist in this sphere, for an even greater activization of the campaign for the fraternal support of the Spanish people. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. sends heartiest greetings to the gallant international brigades as a component part of the united people's army of Spain, fully subordinate to the government and the military command of the Spanish Republic. Fighting heroically at the fronts of the anti-fascist struggle in Spain, defending shoulder to shoulder with the Spanish people the cause of peace and freedom against insolent fascist aggression, setting an example of discipline and supreme loyalty to the cause of the People's Front of Spain, the international brigades show in practice the high value of the international solidarity of the defenders of democracy and thus in all capitalist countries assist the growth of the anti-fascist People's Front, which rallies together Communists,

Socialists, democrats, republicans and all anti-fascists in general.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. expresses the hope that in face of the increasing military intervention of Hitler and Mussolini against the Spanish people, intervention which also threatens all democratic countries and the cause of peace, the proletarian organizations and in the first place the Communist and Socialist Parties, the trade unions of various trends and the genuinely democratic sections of various countries will succeed in bringing about joint action in helping the Spanish people. The interests of the victory of the Spanish people also demand that the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions accept the proposal of the Communist International regarding the coordination of their efforts for bringing about the best practical organization of material, political and moral assistance for the Spanish people, for the best organization of the struggle against fascist intervention in Spain, which carries with it the threat of a world imperialist war.

DECEMBER 28, 1936

The International Youth Conference in Aid of Spain

BY A. MASSIE

AN INTERNATIONAL youth conference concerning the events in Spain was held in Paris on December 19. It was organized directly by the Spanish Frente de la Juventud (Youth Front). For the first time, the youth of Spain called together representatives of all youth organizations of different countries in order to speak with them in person, explaining the causes and course of the war in Spain and why the overwhelming majority of the youth of Spain have taken such a determined, energetic stand on the side of the government.

Themselves representing all shades of non-fascist opinion and organizations of the youth of Spain, they directed their invitation likewise to all shades of non-fascist opinion and organizations among the youth, particularly the youth of Europe.

The response showed that interest in and sympathy toward the youth of Spain are universal, affecting deeply liberal and pacifist, religious and student youth, as well as Socialist and Communist. Representatives from seventy-three national youth organizations from twenty-four countries and of no less than ten international youth organizations took part in this conference.

The character of the delegation representing the various sections of the Frente de la Juventud showed how wide and powerful is the support for the democratic government of the People's Front among the youth of Spain, being made up of representatives of the Basque Catholic-Nationalist youth, Catalonian nationalist youth, the student, sport, Republican, Anarchist and agrarian youth organizations, as well as the Unified Socialist Youth.

While such a broad representation made a powerful impression, this impression was enormously deepened among all delegates by the spirit of unity, of fraternal solidarity in a common cause, shown by the various speakers in reports and discussions.

This impression was so much the greater because each speaker spoke in the name and from the point of view of his own organization, without attempting to speak generally in the name of the Frente de la Juventud as a whole.

Thus, when the representative of the Catholic National Youth of the Basque province spoke, he did so from the point of view of his own organization, declaring that they are Basques in their nationality and Catholics in their religion, their program being summed up in their motto —"*Jaun Goikua Eta Lega Zarra.*" (God and the ancient laws). Under this motto they fight today on the battlefront against Franco, against the Carlists and Phalangists, defending their national interests and their social, cultural and political traditions and institutions.

These speeches by the representatives of individual organizations, setting forth why the members of each organization fought together in the Frente de la Juventud on the side of the Spanish government, provided as nothing else could have done a picture of how entirely the present interests and future of the youth of the Spanish people are represented by the government and assailed by the fascist hordes.

These speeches by representatives of the *various tendencies* among the youth provided a vivid and convincing background to the reports submitted on the behalf of the Frente de la Juventud concerning a number of *specific problems*. A wide field was covered in these reports, which dealt with international aspects of the situation in Spain, the problem of nationalities, the agrarian problem, the constitution of the republic, religious questions and the new republican army.

This conference was neither open to, nor attended by, representatives *only* of those organizations which have already openly declared sympathy and support for the Spanish government in the struggles against fascism. Indeed, many of those present came from bodies (particularly Christian and peace organizations), which sympathized with the people of Spain in the torments to which they have been subjected by the war, but which sought information to aid them in deciding their attitude and action.

No resolution or declaration of support was appealed for by the representative of the Frente de la Juventud. However, such was the impression made upon all present at the conference by the carefully documented, yet moving recital of the Spanish youth that a remarkable scene was witnessed when a declaration was read to the Conference by the English delegation.

This declaration expressed "warm thanks to the Spanish youth for the full and objective information" submitted; recorded:

"... Conviction that the immense majority of the youth of Spain has placed itself on the side of the lawful government of the Republic"; described the war which is ravaging Spain as a war provoked by rebel generals supported by Spanish fascists against the people of Spain; and concluded that the "European youth, who feel the sufferings of the Spanish youth, express their warm sympathy for the splendid youth of Spain, who are struggling for the defense of democracy, of peace, of culture, for a free and happy life for the younger generation."

When this had been read as a declaration of the English delegation, representatives of one country after the other eagerly sprang to their feet, wishing to support the sentiments expressed in the declaration, which was then accepted unanimously as a declaration of the whole conference.

One special feature, which roused great enthusiasm when referred to in his speech by the representative of the Unified Socialist Youth of Spain, was the fact that the conference had provided the occasion upon which representatives of the Young Communist International and also of a number of Young Socialist organizations took part in one international conference. This fact was greeted by all Socialist and Communist youth delegates and by many others in the conference.

The fact that the events in Spain act as a magnet in drawing together in closer harmony all progressive sections of the youth was further emphasized by the presence in the conference of representatives of the International of Socialist Education and the International Union of Radical, Liberal and Democratic youth.

As one result of the conference, the delegates of the Frente de la Juventud agreed to establish a permanent delegation of the Spanish youth in Paris for international work.

The great majority of delegates who responded to the invitation of the Frente de la Juventud also attended a second conference to discuss practically how to

trengthen, extend and coordinate the ork of the youth aid to Spain.

Following reports by representatives f the English and French delegations n the work done in their countries, a ery lively exchange of experiences and iscussion of many practical forms of ssistance took place.

The conference showed what a variety f forms of valuable assistance are open o the youth, and showed also what lively nitiative and energy had been developed y the youth in many lands for this pur- ose.

Outstanding instances are not easy to elect (they are all outstanding). The ollection in one month of £1,000 nd the sending of a Youth Food hip from England to Spain, and the reat work of the French youth for medi- al aid and in sending a Youth Food hip were certainly outstanding.

But no less so was the report of the wedish delegate, which showed how tre- endously the Socialist Youth League nd the Young Communist League in that ountry have assisted the labor and trade nion movement in a carefully organ- zed, manysided, and thoroughly con- ucted campaign of aid.

The contrast between the methods in rance and England, on the one hand, and ose employed in Sweden on the other and, especially provided material for iscussion. In France and England the ork of the youth advanced to its high- st point on the basis of two main fac- ors—joint campaigns conducted under he guidance of joint committees of the outh organizations, and the setting of pecial youth objectives, apart from their upport of the general campaigns of the labor, trade union and progressive movements. In Sweden the Socialist Youth League had generated a really large-scale activity without any special youth campaigns or joint committees.

It was not the purpose of the Conference to decide as between one form and the other; however, a general opinion was that some degree of specialization and of joint work among youth organizations is desirable and in practically all cases must be helpful.

This exchange of experiences and opinions was certainly most encouraging and helpful, and will greatly assist in the future work of the International Youth Commission elected at the Conference for the purpose of information and will assist coordination.

The Committee is composed of representatives of Spain, Sweden, France, England, Belgium and the "Communitée Universelle de la Jeunesse". The fact that a Swedish Young Socialist is a member of the committee will surely assist in bringing the Socialist and other progressive youth organizations of democratic Sweden, Norway and Denmark into closer cooperation with the youth of other European countries.

It is certain that these two conferences will contribute considerably toward the victory of the democratic forces over fascism in Spain. They have helped draw together the democratic, progressive forces among the youth of Europe; have given a tremendous impetus to all sides of the aid they are giving to the youth of Spain; and heartened the heroic young fighters of Spain by the assurance of greater sympathy and solidarity, more active support and aid from the youth of other countries.

In Memory of the British Comrades Who Have Fallen in Spain

BY HARRY POLLITT

IN THE name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International it is my duty on its behalf to pay its tribute to the memory of one of our most devoted, loyal and brillant Communist leaders, and in equal measure to pay its tribute to those score of other British Communists, who have, with Comrade Fox* at their head, so courageously distinguished themselves by their coolness, bravery and discipline in the face of what appeared to be overwhelming odds.

In the case of Comrade Fox there was no economic reason why he should join our Party, the Communist Party. He came from a deep sense of intellectual conviction, and from the moment he took out his Party card, his life was dedicated to the cause of Communism. Whether as an author, a journalist, or as an instructor of our factory groups in various parts of London, Comrade Fox has undoubtedly influenced the thoughts of thousands of working men and women, and also a big section of the professional classes of this country.

Comrades, we do not meet here as mourners for whom all is darkness and grief. We meet here as comrades in arms of those comrades whom we knew so intimately and so well, who have given that most precious thing that man can give—life—to the cause they believed in, and for which they were prepared to make the supreme sacrifice. We pledge ourselves to their families, their wives, their sweethearts, and in many cases. unfortunately, their children, that we will avenge their death, that we will show ourselves worthy of their trust and of their remarkably high example.

Friends of Spain in this audience who are not members of the Communist Party will pardon me if I refer with pride to the achievements that have been carried out by all Sections of the Communist International in support of the Spanish government. Without the existence of this International of steeled and disciplined revolutionary fighters, the material and moral forms of aid sent to Spain would have been impossible of accomplishment. The dream of Marx and Engels has been realized—that dream which dominated them when they formed the First International—that one day there would arise a really single world party, that could mobilize the best of the people in every country to come to the assistance of comrades in other lands fighting a deadly enemy.

Comrades, the International Brigade, now covering itself with such honor and glory in Spain, is a real people's army. It is an army composed of the best anti-

* Speech delivered at the memorial meeting to Ralph Fox in London, January 13, 1937.

fascist fighters of all countries. We are proud tonight to declare that 750 young men from this country now form a British battalion of the International Brigade, and we pledge ourselves that within the course of the next two or three days the 750 will become a thousand.

The 750 boys who have gone from this country have gone without any fuss; it has all been done very quietly, no press photographers to see them off, but they got there, and when they got there they went to Madrid where the fighting has to be done, where the real danger spots lie. In going they have been fortified by the knowledge that they take with them the good wishes of every sincere and genuine anti-fascist in this country. Labor men and Socialists, Communists and liberals, doctor and writer, docker and intellectual, have all found it possible to sink certain of their own party and political aims in a united endeavor to defeat the common foe—fascism.

It would be a crime against the whole future perspective of working class advance, a crime against the whole future perspective of peace, if that single idea now dominating men who, in thousands, took death in the face in Spain—to bring about the defeat of fascism—did not also become the driving force of all our efforts to build up a united labor movement and fighting People's Front of all the democratic British people.

Comrades, we take legitimate pride in what comrades like General Kleber, Ludwig Renn, Hans Beimler, André Marty have said of the work of the British battalion in the Brigade. General Kleber has declared that when there is a particularly tight corner calling for coolness and courage, he has only to ask for the British Section, and men go immediately to that tight corner; and when that happens he feels safe that the objective they are to defend will be held to the very last. Their coolness and bravery have endeared them to all who have come into contact with them, and especially has the British Brigade inspired the Spanish militia who fight alongside them in a way that in life itself—in all to many cases death—has shown that international solidarity is not a First of May slogan, but a living reality for the best of our people.

The British Brigade has retrieved the honorable traditions of the British labor movement; it has upheld the fine democratic traditions that have characterized the fight on behalf of liberty. When the great poet Byron went to Greece to fight for liberty; when in a later period Comrade Brailsford fought for liberty in Greece—these are the examples our British comrades are following today in the conditions of our time.

If there is a spark of human feeling and international solidarity left in our Bevins and Citrines, in our Middletons and Baltons, these supreme sacrifices of our Comrade Fox and those others should at least shame them into giving their reply by coming out wholeheartedly and mobilizing all that can be mobilized in this country in order that not one thousand British fighting men can go to Spain, but ten thousand men—to ensure speedy victory.

The British Brigade has retrieved the honor of the British labor movement. Comrade Strachey was a thousand times right when he stressed the responsibility of the British labor movement in this present grave international situation. Comrades, that responsibility is not only on the shoulders of the leaders at Transport House; it is on every class-conscious worker in the labor movement of this country, because we can change the policy of Transport House if we really organize ourselves to do it.

The National Government now threatens to put into operation the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1871. The working class has, in its age-long struggle for liberty against capitalism and for socialism, always found the ways and means of overcoming restrictive legislation of a hostile capitalist class. The working class of this country will find ways and means of covering any restrictions that our

Baldwins and Edens think they have placed in the way. With us, comrades, it is not the wishes of Baldwin that matter, but the demands of Caballero and the democratic Spanish people.

Eden's speech last night to the Foreign Press Association was an insult to every intelligent citizen. This National Government that allowed itself to be a doormat on which Mussolini and Hitler could walk any time they liked has never from July 18 to the present time been neutral for a minute in the Spanish struggle. Eden said last night "We are neutral, let the Spanish nation find its own way to form the government best suited to Spain." Comrades, when the Spanish people were left alone from July 18 to July 21, they crushed Franco. It was in face of Hitler and Mussolini and the Foreign Legion and Moorish troops that the Spanish people, unarmed as they were, then found that they had a stiffer job on, and the responsibility for that lies at the door of this National Government.

We will answer it by strengthening the International Brigade; we will answer it by sending food to Spain. Comrades, I don't want to frighten anyone here, but it must be obvious to you that you cannot conduct a civil war for six months and especially in a country predominantly agricultural, without the likelihood of there being within the course of the next two or three months acute food difficulties. This is one of the things Franco is banking on. But we hold the trump card. They cannot give them food from Germany because they have no food themselves; they cannot give them food in Italy because they have no food. But there is food in Britain, France and the Soviet Union. In the course of the next two or three months this question of food can be all-decisive. Our cooperative movement must be brought into play. We have the reserves, the resources, the cooperative movement has the ships. Then let us forward the food supplies the men and women of Spain so badly need.

Again, comrades, you cannot evacuate one million women and children from Madrid unless you have something to evacuate them in. They have not the vehicles. But our Trades Union Congress could mobilize thousands of motor trucks and vehicles to go to Spain to help in this humanitarian task; they can at any rate assist in evacuating the women and children. Our Citrines and Bevins may be so holy they may not want to see bloodshed, well if they are the Christians they say they are, let them do this, let them prevent women and children from being slaughtered.

Comrades, I read one tribute to Comrade Fox which declared that the writer in question could only see in his death "a tragic waste". That is a misunderstanding of the situation. When, unarmed, in tatters and rags, with bare fists and sticks, our Russian comrades fought a civil war from 1917 to 1920, when on seven fronts the counter-revolutionary armies of the imperialist world opposed them, we had people in this country who said "it was a tragic mistake that men should fight against such fearful odds".

Thousands of our Russian comrades laid down their lives with the same courage and vision and understanding with which comrades have laid down their lives in Spain. Their sacrifice was not a tragic waste, for out of it has grown the mighty Soviet Union. I ask you to believe me when I say that out of the sacrifice of Comrade Fox and these others a new Spain will be born, a new world will be born, and it is not a waste therefore that in the heat of the fray these comrades have laid down their lives. Therefore, we will brush aside the tears, and we will go from this meeting with such a white heat of hatred of fascism and of reaction in this country that this audience of 1,500 people will represent a new potential revolutionary army in the citadel of British imperialism. We will swear over the bloody and scattered graves of our comrades that not only will we avenge their deaths, but prove worthy of building here the edifice that they all sought to build in Spain.

The banner of freedom, held in the hands of Fox and his comrades, shall be carried on by us, and we will prove worthy of the trust they reposed in us, and to the fascists we will give more than blow for blow. For every one of ours they laid low, our boys have and will lay low a hundred of theirs. It is the only way in which victory can come to Spain, and it is in that spirit and it is with that feeling of hatred that I ask you to leave this meeting, and in leaving it, remember to work tomorrow morning in the docks and the engineering factory, work tomorrow in the trade union branch and in the cooperative movement and in the local Labor Party. It is not as dangerous as the work of those 750 British boys now in the trenches, night and day menaced from the air, menaced by the picked troops of Hitler and Mussolini, by the tanks and artillery, by the big guns of Italy and Germany. Those boys are facing it all with gladness and joy; and that letter which Bramley reported coming from Comrade Springhall—when I read it I was the proudest man in this country because "Springy" was giving quotation after quotation showing the mettle of which our section of the International Brigade has been constituted. Therefore let tomorrow see a new movement born in London. The press tomorrow will be full of statements of the Labor Party directed against all those who dare to stand for unity. In Spain they are demanding unity with their blood. Do not let us wait in this country until we are called upon to undergo that experience, for rest assured, if Spain goes down, as night follows day, fascism will come in this country. We are facing the same problems here, and as a matter of self-interest, as the first step on the road to peace, democracy and socialism, let us make the International Brigade and its British section especially, a hundred times stronger than it already is.

I recall to you the words of Byron:

> "Yet, freedom! yet, thy banner, torn, but flying,
> Streams like a thunderstorm *against* the wind."

And our comrades who have died in Spain have helped us all in our work of guarding the banner of freedom and liberty.

To the Memory of Guido Picelli

BY M. ERCOLI

IN THE early days of February, on the Guadalajara front, a hero, Comrade Guido Picelli, Vice-Commander of the Italian Volunteer Battalion, fell in battle. This particular battalion of the International Brigade bears the name of Garibaldi, the popular hero of the wars to liberate Italy from foreign oppression. Comrade Picelli was killed while leading his comrades in a battle which resulted in the republican troops taking possession of a village, and capturing eight machine-guns and a large number of prisoners.

In Comrade Picelli the working class of Italy has lost one of its best sons, and the Communist Party of Italy one of its most devoted, most experienced, most courageous fighters.

The son of a worker, a worker himself, Comrade Picelli consecrated the whole of his life to the cause of working class emancipation. He took part in the imperialist war as a rank-and-file soldier and later as an officer, and was filled with a profound hatred for the capitalist system which condemns the workers to kill one another. On returning from the war, he immediately joined first the Socialist Party and then the Communist Party at its founding. The idea which inspired all his activities in the working class movement was that of the need to teach the workers to use arms so as to be able in armed struggle to crush the reactionary bourgeoisie who want to subordinate them, by violence and terror, to their own open dictatorship. All Comrade Picelli's efforts were directed toward passing on to the workers the wealth of military experience he acquired during the war; and his name is linked up with several of the best known, most glorious episodes in the struggle whereby the most advanced section of the Italian proletariat fought against the fascists.

In 1920, Comrade Picelli was one of the principal organizers of the great mass demonstrations which were accompanied by revolts among the soldiers in the barracks, and forced the Italian bourgeoise to abandon their plan of sending an expeditionary corps into Albania.

Thrown into jail, he was released in 1921 by the workers of his native town, Parma, who then elected him as their Parliamentary deputy. On his release from prison in 1921, the armed fighting of the fascist bandits against the working class organizations was in full swing. Comrade Picelli understood that the main task at that time was to unite all the forces of the working class and of the broad masses of working people in general to bar the way against the fascist assassins. And at the time when the reformist leaders were preaching "non-resistance" and collaborating with the fascists, he advanced the slogan of the establishment of an "Arditi del Popolo," a people's united front militia, and, on this basis, he organized resistance against fascism in the town and province of Parma.

Twenty thousand armed fascists, led by General Italo Balbo, attacked the town of Parma, but after a battle which lasted for five days they were defeated and obliged to retire in disorder in the face of the fierce resistance of the workers organized by Comrade Picelli and led by him in the fighting on the streets and barricades. Thus Comrade Picelli gave proof not only of his own personal courage, but of his real ability as a military leader.

Re-elected a deputy in 1924, Comrade Picelli was arrested on May 1 of the same year for having hoisted the red banner on the Parliament buildings. In 1926 he was deported together with all the other members of the Communist Parliamentary group, and was twice thrown into jail on a charge of having illegally organized the Communist Party in the islands of deportation. Having finally emigrated from Italy by order of the Central Committee of the Party, he went to work in a factory as a plain worker, and never ceased to continue his activities as a Communist agitator and organizer.

Being an indefatigable internationalist fighter, Comrade Picelli was among the first militant anti-fascist Italians to go to Spain and aid the government and the Spanish republican army fight against the fascist rebels. By their heroism and the blood they have shed, these fighters are continuing the best revolutionary traditions of the Italian people and the working class, are effacing the disgrace into which the fascist government has plunged the Italian people, by its armed intervention against the Spanish people who are fighting for their liberty. The Italian people, all workers, all anti-fascists throughout the world, honor the name of Comrade Picelli as that of a popular hero who has laid down his life in the struggle for liberty, for peace, for socialism.

* * *

"Fighting heroically at the fronts of the anti-fascist struggle in Spain, defending shoulder to shoulder with the Spanish people the cause of peace and freedom against insolent fascist aggression, setting an example of discipline and supreme loyalty to the cause of the People's Front of Spain, the international brigades show in practice the high value of the international solidarity of the defenders of democracy and thus in all capitalist countries assist the growth of the anti-fascist People's Front, which rallies together Communists, Socialists, Democrats, Republicans and all anti-fascists in general." (From the Decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of December 28, 1936.)

"Merry Wives of Windsor" to Fascist Music

BY R. PAGE ARNOT

"THE crisis is over" cried the British press, when Edward VIII abdicated. But the crisis is not quite over. For constitutional fevers are of the kind that permanently undermine the constitution. And when that constitution's figurehead, in whose name all writs run, the Fount of Justice and Defender of the Faith, King by the Grace of God, turns out to be King only by the Grace of Baldwin, then the famous unwritten and semi-mystical "British Constitution" is rudely shorn of its halo. Among some of the more backward masses it had been believed that the monarch resigned through Baldwin his servant. But when Baldwin, the representative of finance capital, was seen to be the master, who dismissed the monarch, then the glory was departed and the holy mystery was shattered. The bourgeoisie, who required of "the British monarchy the duty to stand as a rock to the world outside amid the seething tides of Communism and Dictatorship" (*The Times*—Dec. 3, 1936), have in this over-reached themselves. They sought to establish the monarchy "as a rock" by disestablishing the monarch. But instead they have disestablished age-long illusions. Republican sentiment, for the first time in generations, is reported to be growing rapidly in Britain.

Meanwhile the sentiment of esteem for the Labor leaders, who proved incapable of taking an independent line that was neither for King nor Baldwin but for the people, and who could do nothing better than to fraternize with the National Government, has sunk even lower than it had already been brought by their support of rearmament and failure of support of Spain.

But these things work two ways. The "crisis" also showed the growing tendency toward reaction and fascism. The activities of Ribbentrop were partially revealed. The depths of the abyss of reaction that exists in England were opened up. The deep divisions within the ruling class were brought out sharply. Thoughts of using the exiled monarch as a rallying point for fascism in any future "time of troubles" occurred to many pro-fascist elements. Lloyd George, the defender of Hitler, gave tongue to these thoughts by his remarkable Christmas message to the exile, protesting against "shabby treatment" and proffering his allegiance. *Out of the "crisis" the danger of reaction and fascism in Britain has grown greater.*

Turn from this affair to the general policies of the bourgeoisie as expressed by the National Government, examine not only the open pretensions of fascist elements but the furtive steps being taken one after another by British finance capital in the same direction. Notice the Public Order Act against public liberties and democratic practice, the plans for rearmament against an unnamed enemy, the attempt to dupe the masses into the belief that it is against Hitler that the government is arming

when their every move since 1933 has strengthened and encouraged Hitler, the infamous abandonment of a democratically elected government in Spain to the horrors of fascist invasion, the new friendship with blood-boltered Mussolini, on the Spanish question the tying of the hands of the French government (which has also its own responsibility for allowing its hands to be tied), the attempt again and again renewed to weaken the Franco-Soviet pact of peace —then if all this is taken into account, the strengthening of reaction and the tendencies in a fascist direction are plainly to be seen. *Out of all the measures of recent domestic and foreign policy, the danger of reaction and fascism in Britain is growing greater.*

Against this danger, the long established tradition of parliamentary government and of capitalist democracy is by itself but a feeble defense. But if the majority of the British people are against fascism, then a form must be found for unity against fascism, a means by which the whole mass can move together in one direction, and, so moving, can inflict defeat on the reactionaries, the warmongers, and all the forces of fascism. This is the conception of the People's Front.

Such a People's Front in Britain means first and foremost a united working class putting up such a fight against reaction as to inspire and rally round it the great mass of the population. It means a fighting Labor Party, which, because it fights, wins daily new adherents, commands the respect of all who have to work for their living, and is in the position to work with allies without any fear of losing its independent working class character. This would immediately affect the radical lower middle classes, the small shopkeepers and farmers, the members of the liberal professions, intellectuals and all who are against fascism and war.

This, of course, is not, as some pretend, a revival of the old Liberal-Labor alliance, this is not class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but the very opposite of it. For class collaboration meant that the working class was subordinated, and actually under control of the class enemy; while the People's Front means that the working class, strong in its unity, is the pivot of the whole movement against the class enemy, wrenching the masses also away from the control of the class enemy.

The examples of France and Spain were like a breath of fresh air in Britain. Naturally attempts to advance in like manner are to be met with in Britain.

It is also natural that not all these attempts correctly hit upon the paths leading to the creation, in the peculiar conditions of Britain, of the form destined to play a similar role to that being played by the People's Front in France or in Spain. For even in these countries where the People's Front has already become a powerful political factor, there are still to be found in it conceptions of the People's Front which are not always correct.

In the Spanish Frente Popolar, which is fighting with amazing heroism for freedom and a bright future for the Spanish people, nebulous and confused conceptions are being overcome in the course of united struggle. In the ranks of the Front Populaire in France, opinions are at times expressed, particularly by some of the Radicals, which are at variance with the general line of the Front Populaire, with the will of the many millions of people which it has rallied together. But these opinions and tendencies of which the enemies of the Front Populaire, the supporters of reaction and fascism, speculate have nevertheless failed to prevent the establishment and preservation in France of the People's Front. Neither will they prevent it in Britain. And we must not be disturbed if the desire for unity by the masses of the people in Britain today takes varied and, to some extent, quite false forms. There is one condition upon which we can overcome incorrect and impractical conceptions, and unmask attempts to drag in reactionary tendencies

under the already popular flag of the People's Front, and that is to strive to establish real unity for a real struggle against reaction.

Besides the discussion now going on in Britain, there are several groups who have proclaimed themselves to be the nucleus of the People's Front. And these groups are in competition one with the other. The result, if it does credit to their eagerness for resistance to fascism, does less than credit to their understanding of the issues involved. For what do their premature formations amount to? Not to a unification of the forces against fascism and against war, but a further splitting, a dissipation of energy which should be concentrated within each mass organization.

This criticism does not apply to such an organization as the Left Book Club which, with its 40,000 members who have come together in the past nine months, can be considered in some respects as a mass organization. This is not a forced growth but something springing from English soil, that has long been thirsty for enlightenment on the pressing problems of the world today. Such an organization can fulfil a most useful task, as a focus of enlightenment on the idea of the People's Front, a center whence may spread a knowledge of how to fight for peace against war, democracy against fascism, and for the collective security of the mass both at home and on the international arena.

But there are also really dangerous signs in Britain. Erroneous opinions on the People's Front are possible and indeed likely at this stage. But that some of the forces of reaction should be masquerading as "People's Front" is a sinister development against which everyone who is a sincere democrat must be on guard. When a group of Tories (the Five-Point Group) begin talking in terms of a People's Front, when Winston Churchill joins with Sir Walter Citrine and the Tory Lord Lytton on a common platform (London, Albert Hall meeting of December 3), then it is nothing but a transparent attempt to utilize popular slogans and moods in the interests of reaction. It is the demagogy of deceiving the poor in the interests of the rich.

And when, finally, Lloyd George, the most unscrupulous demagogue of them all, avows his sympathy for a People's Front, then the urgency of clarity in this matter, of ending the dissipation of energies and concentrating on the mass movement, must become plain to all.

The Struggle for Democracy in Iraq and for Universal Peace

BY SALIM ABUD

BY THE Anglo-Iraq Treaty of 1930 Britain's mandate over Iraq was annulled, and the independence of Iraq recognized. In 1932, Iraq was admitted to membership of the League of Nations. The Anglo-Iraq Treaty thus restricted British interference in the affairs of Iraq in general and particularly in its inner affairs, and established self-government based on a constitutional parliamentary government. For Iraq this treaty undoubtedly marked a step forward along the road to real independence.

But this did not improve the conditions of the broad masses of the people in Iraq. This recognition of independence, in the struggle for which the people of Iraq had made heavy sacrifices, was of advantage only to a section of the Iraq bourgeoisie, the feudal chieftains, sheikhs of tribes and high officials. It did not lighten the position of the working masses.

Iraq is an agrarian country; the chief occupations of its inhabitants are agriculture and cattle-breeding. A large part of the products of the peasants falls into the hands of the numerous feudal chieftains, sheikhs, and big landowners who, moreover, are often themselves in the clutches of usurers and foreign banks and companies.

Approximately one-third of the land belongs to the state. The remaining lands consist primarily of the possessions of emirs, feudal chieftans, sheikhs, a few big usurers, foreign companies, and also of church lands. The majority of the peasants and Bedouins (nomads) have no land at all, and are cruelly exploited. In Iraq the land is still cultivated in the old-fashioned way, and these same relics of olden times are to be found in the methods of exploitation and in the system of taxation.

In a number of regions, for example, the sheikh or the owner of an irrigation pump rents land from the government or big feudal chieftains for a definite sum of money, as a form of "lezma" (obligation). He divides this land into smaller segments and distributes them among the "cirkal" (middlemen) respectively according to their solvency. The cirkal, in turn, distributes his land among the peasants, supplies them with seed and implements and gives them an advance of three dinari, which is recovered from them during the distribution of the harvest. The peasant tills and irrigates the land, keeps the canals clean, reinforces the dams, looks after the working cattle, and in addition works for a number of weeks on a special plot of land, annually sown and cultivated entirely gratis for the sheikh.

Subsequently, after taxes have been deducted, the harvest is distributed as follows: 50 per cent to the owner of the irrigation pump or to the sheikh in pay-

ment for the land and water, 30 per cent to the middleman for seed and cattle, and 20 per cent to the peasant. Morover, the cirkal can lay his hands on the peasant's share in payment of "aid" given and the winter loan. If the peasant's share is insufficient to cover all the debts, he is forced to sign a statement to the cirkal declaring that he will not transfer to another middleman the following year.

Having concluded an agreement with a number of British firms for the supply of irrigation pumps, the Iraq government passed a law making irrigation by means of such pumps universal. As a result, the peasants who owned land and the small sheikhs were forced to resort to loans from the usurers, high officials and merchants, in order to buy irrigation pumps. It all ended with many of the small proprietors being deprived of the land, which was taken from them by the usurers and high officials, either for nonpayment of debt instalments or by some fraudulent way or other.

The growth of capitalist relations in the villages and among the Bedouin tribes is leading to the break-up of the tribal system. But, despite this breakup of the tribal system and all the hardships connected with the nomadic form of life, the Bedouins nevertheless prefer the nomad life to the labor of the settled peasant. The bitter lot of the peasantry repels the Bedouin tribes from the settled life, from agricultural labor. Not only are the Bedouins unwilling to be tied to the land, but they strive at all costs to avoid the payment of any taxes. Only when taxes are being collected do they actually come into contact with the government authorities, and to them the tax-collector is the only representative of the government. They are also contemptuous of the military conscription laws and resist military service.

A hard life and merciless exploitation are the lot not only of the peasants and Bedouins, but also of the working people of the towns, and particularly of the workers. The workers have been repeatedly promised improvements in their living conditions, attention from the government, and legislation guarding them against exploitation. They have also been promised democratic liberties. The government of Iraq not only failed to fulfill these promises but carried on a drive against the workers: in 1933 it closed down the trade unions in Bagdad and other towns of Iraq and, under the pretext that the workers were interfering in politics, deprived them of the right henceforth to organize trade unions.

All this created unrest among the masses, and led to an uprising of the Bedouin tribes and the peasantry against the national government. In the beginning of 1935, a numberof Shi-ite tribes in the neighborhood of Hindi to the south of Bagdad revolted against the then Jamil Midfai government. This revolt took place under the leadership of Abdal-Vahid As-Sukker, who at the time made the following declaration to the representatives of the press:

"We rose up against the British in 1920 and fought for our independence and improvements in our economic conditions. But when after long waiting we realized that the promises made to us in the past were not being fulfilled, we revolted against the government."

This revolt met with a profound response among the working people and the urban intelligentsia. The tribesmen drove of the tax-collectors, destroying the railroad tracks, expressing thereby their protest against the policy of the government. They demanded the abolition of taxation and the annulment of arrears of taxation, the revision of the agreements between the government and the oil company, increased taxation of the foreign companies, the resignation of the Midfai government, etc. This was the first revolt to take place under the national government after the signing of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty. It met with general sympathy and support among the masses of the people, and afforded an opportunity to the progressive elements to put forward their demands.

These events and the unrest which seized the whole country led to the downfall of the Al-Midfai government.

King Hazi of Iraq entrusted the formation of the new cabinet to Masin pashe Al-Hashimi, a man who more than once demonstrated his opposition to the agreement between Britain and Iraq and the existing order. The masses greeted the formation of the Hashimi government with satisfaction. But events soon revealed Hashimi in his true colors.

The Hashimi government opened up negotiations with the leaders of the insurgent tribes in the attempt to persuade them of the necessity of bringing the movement to an end. At the same time, punitive expeditions were despatched to suppress the revolt. By these means the government succeeded in "pacifying" the tribes.

After that Hashimi began his well-known campaign against the opposition nationalists and the national liberation movement in the towns. Many nationalists, workers and other representatives of the progressive movement were arrested, thrown into prison or placed under observation by the police on the charge of adherence to Communism. The last remnants of democratic liberties in the land were wiped out: all newspapers, clubs and organizations of the opposition were closed down; in the place of the dissolved parliament, a new chamber of deputies was established composed of the supporters of Hashimi and his government.

Hashimi came to terms with the British regarding the purchase of the railroads constructed by the latter during the imperialist war. Tremendous sums of money were paid for these railroads, which were left to the management of the same British directors and experts as heretofore, for a period of twenty years. The people of Iraq regarded this agreement as a violation of their rights. Hashimi agreed to postpone the construction of oil refineries in Iraq for another fifteen years. (According to the agreement between the government of Iraq and the Iraq Oil Company, the construction of these works was to have been finished by 1936.) Hashimi generously distributed state lands among his own relations, myrmidons, and supporters and gave them posts in the state apparatus.

These and similar acts called forth fury and indignation among the nationalists and the masses. Hashimi did everything to turn the fury of the people against the national minorities in Iraq, the Assyrians, Jews, etc., and to foment hostility among the various groups and sects of the Arabian population on the basis of religious fanaticism.

These actions of the government naturally aroused the indignation of the masses of the people, and led to revolts. The Hashimi government remained in power for sixteen months. During that period there were five uprisings of Bedouins and peasants in different parts of Iraq which were suppressed by troops with unprecedented cruelty: martial law was established, tremendous contributions were laid upon whole districts, and a host of innocent people were killed.

This increased the indignation of the people and even of the army itself, and led to universal condemnation of the acts of the government.

Friendly relations were established among the progressive elements of Iraq, the opposition nationalists and the Iraq army commanders, as a result of which an agreement was arrived at to overthrow the Hashimi government with the aid of the national army of Iraq.

The following demands formed the baiss of the common platform of the opposition and progressive nationalist elements: (1) the national army to be strengthened; (2) the state lands to be distributed among the peasants and Bedouins; (3) democratic liberties to be established: freedom of the press, assembly, organization and demonstration; (4) the rights of trade union organization and to strike; (5) equal rights for all nationalities in Iraq, while preserving the unity of the people of Iraq; (6) all political prison-

ers to be released and exiles permitted to return; (7) efforts to be made to unite the Arabian countries, support to be given to the national-liberation movement in Arabian countries, etc.; (8) friendly relations to be maintained with the British government, and friendship to be strengthened with the neighboring countries of Turkey and Iran (Persia).

It was on the basis of this platform of demands that the coup d'etat of October 29, 1936, was brought about, as a result of which the present government of Hikmet Suleiman came to power. How did it take place?

On the morning of October 29, a squadron of airplanes dropped leaflets over Bagdad, the capital of Iraq, signed by the commander-in-chief "of the forces of national reform", which stated that the patience of the people had come to an end, and that the forces of national reform demanded the resignation of the Hashimi government and the appointment of Hikmet Suleiman as Prime Minister. The government hesitated about resigning. But when a few bombs were dropped on the government building, Hashimi and his Ministers had no other course to adopt but to resign. They took refuge in the British Embassy out of fear of the troops advancing against Bagdad. The former War Minister, Jafar al Askeri, a well-known supporter of the old regime and of the British government, endeavored to stop the advance of the army, but was killed by the insurgents.

The new government of Hikmet Suleiman was formed of the leaders of the opposition nationalists, the populists and a number of progressive elements who were not members of opposition parties.

The Minister of Finance, Jafar Abu Tumman, is leader of the opposition nationalists and former chairman of the self-dissolved "National Party", a well-known merchant who enjoys considerable influence and authority among the masses of Iraq and especially among the Shi-ites.

The Minister of Communication, Kamil Jadurji, is one of the leaders of the Populists (the Populists are a group of progressive intellectuals in Iraq with influence among the students, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie, and a section of the workers. The ideas of scientific and of utopian socialism are widespread among the populists.)

The Prime Minister, Hikmet Suleiman, is a former officer of the Turkish Army, who took part in the revolt in Iraq against British imperialism in 1920, and was Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Giliani government in 1933-34. He is regarded as a liberal and progressive nationalist.

The new government has the support, on the one hand, of the army and, on the other, of the national movement and the masses of the people. Clear proof of this was provided by the tremendous popular demonstrations which took place all over the country welcoming and supporting the new government. The new government has begun to carry out its program. The proscribed newspapers have begun to appear again, political prisoners have been released, the right to re-establish the trade unions has been granted, special commissions have been set up to distribute the state lands among the peasants and nomad tribes, with a view to the latter taking up a settled mode of life. The government is favorably inclined toward the movement to unite all nationalists, populists, workers and so on into one political party. It is on this basis that the "Association of People's Reform" has been organized. Among the organizers of this party and in its central committee there are three ministers, a number of Populist leaders, the leader of the Bagdad workers, Salih al-Kazzas, and others. The party has a broad national and progressive program including, besides general democratic demands, many of the basic demands of the workers and peasants.

At the same time repressive measures are being adopted against the reactionary press, clubs, etc. Thus, one of the

leaders of the nationalists declared that the "events in Spain are a big lesson for us, and every democratic government which does not adopt resolute measures to suppress the reactionary fascist movement inside the country is actually helping to strengthen that movement".

The government coup d'etat in Iraq has increased the democratic tendencies in the Arabian countries, especially among the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals. It has underlined the full importance of the mass movement of the people as the basis of the national liberation movement and of every kind of democratic national government. The national liberation movements in the Arabian countries regard the new Iraq movement for democratic rights as enormous support for their own struggles for democratic rights and liberties. All democratic and progressive elements in Europe welcome the present government of Iraq.

There is no doubt that this turn of events was a surprise for the British government. For the time being it has adopted an attitude of silent expectation. Apparently it is prepared to recognize the accomplished fact and to enter into contact with the Hikmet Suleiman government, though the latter came to power without the sanction of the British. In any case, the Iraq nationalists have taught the British government a serious lesson, have shown it that support for reaction, a negative attitude toward the democratic movement, resistance to the development of the country, not only lead to the defeat of such a policy but also are contrary to the policy of universal peace preached by Britain itself. These methods do not promote the struggle for peace but, on the contrary, aid the fascist intrigues which are being woven by German and Italian fascists in Arabian countries with a view to preparing war and a new division of the world.

At a time when the German and Italian fascists are using the backwardness of the Moroccans in their endeavor to establish a new base for themselves in Spain and North Africa, the events in Iraq, on the opposite side of the Mediterranean Sea, assume serious international significance. It is essential that they meet with a wide response and support in all the Arabian countries, and among all democratic elements and organizations of other countries, particularly of Great Britain.

The Correspondence Between the French Communists and Cardinal Lienart

BY FRITZ LANG

THE agents and accomplices of Hitler fascism, under orders of the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie, are working in all countries for a split among the working people, to weaken their powers of resistance against the provocation of war and to attack the rights of the people. The agents of Hitler are not infrequently supported in this disruptive work by certain church leaders who—and this must be stated in all fairness—sometimes have no notion at all that they are carrying out the will of Hitler and the disrupters of peace.

The French Communists, to whom the international proletariat is indebted for so many valuable stimuli and examples of the correct approach to new problems, do not permit themselves to be diverted from their path by any difficulties and obstacles, no matter how great they may be, and are striving stubbornly for the unification of the working people for the struggle against war and fascism. This demands, however, the establishment of correct relations with the masses of religious people. Through Comrade Thorez, in the press, and at meetings, the French Communists appeal again and again to the Catholic workers, peasants, handicraftsmen and small tradesmen, to the women and youth, stretching out their hand to them, and calling upon them for fraternal cooperation in the defense of peace, liberty and democracy.

Our French comrades are not indifferent to the statements made in leading Catholic circles, and strive to refute their arguments in convincing language and to arouse the religious masses for joint work in the interests of the people.

In this connection an exchange of correspondence published in the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of France, *Cahiers du Bolchevisme*, December, 1936 (No. 20-21) is very instructive.

At the Diocesan Congress held in Lille on October 25, 1936, Cardinal Lienart attacked the Communist Party and declared that the Communists were responsible for all the evils from which mankind is suffering.

The leading comrades of the Northern district of the Communist Party of France, Martha Desrumeaux, Arthur Ramette and Joseph Hentges, thereupon addressed an open letter to the Cardinal.

"You have won for yourself in the Northern Region," states the open letter, "the name of a 'social priest', and we thought that at the time when our Party is making such efforts to unite Frenchmen who work and suffer, in order to assure our country prosperity in work and in peace, you would not do or say anything which could hinder the Catholic workers from clasping the hand extended to them by their Communist brothers.

"You maintain that Communism is

-faced. The Communists have never
ked the aims which they pursue. You
w that they wish to establish an
nomic and social order, in which, in
words of the Gospel, each can earn
bread by the sweat of his brow',
in which, according to Saint Paul,
se who do not work shall have no
ce in the community; that is, such
cial order in which the exploitation
man by man shall be excluded. Can
, as a sincere Christian, reproach us
tirelessly pursuing such a noble
?"

he authors of the letter connect this
with the Cardinal's own words that:

Work is here for Man and not Man
the work."
The overwhelming majority of those
work are in their conditions of
tence subjugated to money and the
hine."

aking these words their starting
t, they give a brief description of
conditions of the workers and show
bears the responsibility for this.

Do you not believe", they say, "that
would have been far more useful to
ind these people [the employers—
.] of their duty as Christians, instead
ttacking the Communists?"

he authors of this "open letter" re-
the accusations against the People's
nt in Spain and show who is re-
nsible for the bloody events there.

There [in Spain—F.L.] as every-
re", they continue, "it is these forces
eaction which do all possible to pre-
the development of society toward a
er life; it is the conservative egoism
he rich, of the feudal powers and of
military caste, a minority in the
ntry, which wants to continue forcing
will upon the entire people."

n his speech Cardinal Lienart made
usual "accusations" against the great
of socialism, the Soviet Union.
on what documents", ask the Com-
nists in their letter, "do you base your
rtions?"

Workers and people from various sections of society, who have traveled in the Soviet Union, have, on the contrary, noted the powerful development of industry, a happy working class, a prosperous peasantry, a happy young generation surrounded by love and care; they have been able to convince themselves that the health of the people is protected through the introduction of a short working day, the five-day week, holidays with pay, and that there are rest homes and sanatoria, etc. The new Constitution extends democratic rights; and numerous foreign visitors have been able to confirm the existence of religious freedom in the U.S.S.R.

"If, however, there should still be any doubts on these points . . . we believe that new proofs would be provided by the sending of a delegation of Catholic working men and women to the Soviet Union in order that they could inform themselves about the life of the workers and peasants, about the social legislation and institutions established on behalf of women and children, and for the protection of the family, as well as about the general development of the economy of the country.

"The workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. would be happy to receive such a delegation, and it would give them pleasure to show to such a delegation, in the minutest detail, the tremendous construction in which they are engaged, and thanks to which there is such a flourishing of the human personality in the U.S.S.R."

The comrades of the Northern Region, furthermore, proposed a personal conversation with the Cardinal in order to achieve clarity in a number of questions.

"The goal which we are pursuing is to serve the interests of the people of France.

"We want that he who works should be able to live without fear for the morrow, assuring the prosperity and well-being of his family.

"We want to save our country from the horrors of civil war.

"Above all we want peace among all people of good will. We most deeply abhor war, and the Communists of the North do not want to see their cities devastated again.

"That is why they stretch out their hand to all who suffer. They stretch out their hand to their Catholic brothers. And we should be happy to find you upon our path in order to fulfil this mission, to assure the working people their bread and the free development of the human mind in peace."

The Cardinal answered this "open letter" on November 5.

What was characteristic of his reply was the fact that it was, to a certain extent, on the defensive. He did not, he wrote, make the Communist Party responsible for all evils, but put the blame upon "atheistic materialism" and "economic liberalism", and it was about this that he spoke in his speech before the Diocesan Congress. If, wrote the Cardinal further, he still designated Communism, in which he did not see the cause of all evil, as a danger, then this was only because Communism pretended to be a remedy. Therefore, the Cardinal thought he had the right to test and judge it as such. But, he asked, how could one judge the value of a remedy—by the way it is advertised or by experience? Surely by experience.

"When I read your program at the end of your letter, namely, to serve the interests of the people . . . to save our country from the horrors of war . . . I subscribe to this program without any reservations. . . .

"But", continues the Cardinal, "the question I place before myself is how the Communists propose to achieve these aims. . . . Far from splitting France into two opposing blocs, we also, without any concealed design, stretch out the hand to all, to Communists as to the others, but in order to work on this plane [the Christian one—F.L.] and no other one."

A personal conversation, after this letter, seemed to the Cardinal to be useless.

The leading comrades of the Northern Region addressed another letter to the Cardinal, pertinent and thoroughly argued. They noted with satisfaction that he defended himself against the accusation brought against him of having made a specifically anti-Communist speech. In several short sentences they sketched the essence of the domination of finance capital, of monopolies and trusts and their consequences for the masses of the people.

The "atheistic materialism" is the dialectical materialism taught by Marx and Engels, which in no way is alien to human ideals in the best sense of the word,

" . . . for it aims at giving mankind the possibility of enjoying all the benefits placed at its disposal by nature and science."

The Communists do not believe in a heavenly paradise, but it is possible to "realize a veritable paradise on earth". Capitalism, which historically has fulfilled its mission, must disappear; and to achieve this it is necessary to gather together against it all those who are suffering from its existence.

" . . . it is necessary," they wrote, "to appeal to all people of good will who wish to sweep aside this hindrance to the development of human civilization.

"It is to this work that we dedicate ourselves, and already on one-sixth of the globe, people who, as we do, accept Communist ideas, have already succeeded in building the foundation of such an order of human peace and goodness."

In the Soviet Union there is full religious freedom. To be sure, the church is completely separated from the state, and the clergy are not subsidized by the state. But this is the case in France as well. There is no law, however, in the Soviet Union forbidding believers to support their clergy.

The letter stresses the request that a delegation of Catholic working men and women be sent to the Soviet Union.

"The conclusions," states the letter, "that they will draw from their trip will surely lead them to join with us in the realization of a paradise on earth."

With the slogan of "Down with Communism" the fascists are driving the peoples into civil war and intervention, in order to assure the further existence of capitalism. By attacking the Communists, the leading church circles facilitate the machinations of the exploiters.

"We do not aim to polemize endlessly," continues the letter, "about the existence or non existence of God. . . . We consider it far more useful and urgent . . . to multiply our efforts in order to unite the working people of this country, so that they may, in the near future, obtain better conditions of existence, more liberty, in anticipation of the time when, with our help and under our leadership, they will achieve the very best human conditions in a Soviet Republic."

The Communists do not want civil war, do not want war between peoples; that is why they desire a free, strong and happy France.

And precisely because they follow this noble aim, they are surprised, and justifiably so, that the highest Catholic dignitary of the Northern Region considers it necessary to excommunicate them.

"This surprise, we are sure, will be shared by numerous Catholic workers."

These words conclude this significant exchange of letters, which undoubtedly will contribute considerably to the establishment of good relations with wide masses of the Catholic working people.

With the increasing acts of provocation of the Hitler fascists, and with the growing danger of war, the attacks of church dignitaries against the Communists, the most consistent defenders of democracy, and of the rights and liberties of the working people, are increasing. They speak of "Communism" but mean the People's Front, the coming together of all people of good will against brutal fascism which is celebrating its orgies of blood in Spain.

The Communists, however, do not weary, and will not weary in the future of uniting the "masses of the disinherited", regardless of their beliefs about the world "beyond the grave", against their tormentors, against the instigators of war. The Catholic working people, who suffer from the "excesses" of capitalism, and the feverish building of armaments, just as all working people do, who abhor war just as much as all friends of peace do, will understand *where* their place is.

It is not on the side of the Hitler fascists, who trample human dignity under foot, who are driving the masses into the catastrophe of a new, horrible slaughter of the peoples, not on the side of the civil war generals, who—supported by Hitler and Mussolini—are bringing death and ruination to the Spanish people.

But their place is on the side of all working people, in the People's Front to defend peace and freedom; on the side of the great land of Soviet democracy, of real liberty, of the brotherly community of the peoples, of the complete development of the human personality.

William Z. Foster

BY R.

A HUGE strike wave involving over a quarter of a million workers is spreading in the U.S.A. The biggest and most significant strike is approaching in the powerful steel industry, which is dominated by the House of Morgan. It is especially among the steel workers that the urge for organizing the unorganized into industrial unions is very strong.

The steel workers, one of the decisive sections of the American working class, have their militant traditions. The American workers well remember the great steel strike of 1919, led by William Z. Foster, the present Chairman of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., one of the most experienced leaders of the American working class. The numerous articles and pamphlets of Comrade Foster, written in the last months, drawing the lessons of his close to forty years of activity in the American labor movement, and especially among the steel workers, assume at this time special importance.

At the age of ten, the family's poverty forced him to go to work. He has since worked as a sculptor's apprentice, as a type-founder, steam-fitter, steam engineer, railroad brakeman, street-car motorman, longshoreman, farmer, deep-water sailor and railroad car inspector.

In 1900, at the age of 19, he joined the Socialist Party. At this time he was working on a street car in New York City, and was a member of the Street Carmen's Union.

In the United States, the problems of working class leadership are the most complicated of any advanced capitalist country. The formation of the proletariat as an independent class force was tremendously complicated by the existence of immigration from many countries. Uniting this mass for a common militant program in any industry, in the face of the opposition of the employers and their agents, required the greatest genius and talent. Reading Marx set Foster into the road of finding the way for our polyglot American working class.

In 1912, Foster helped organize the Syndicalist League of North America; in 1916, the International Trade Union Educational League. The heart of the program of all these movements was that revolutionaries should work inside the existing trade unions. It was Foster's great contribution during this period that when the doctrine of dual unionism was fashionable among many Left elements, he fought to bring them into the established trade unions.

After his expulsion, before the war, from the Socialist Party for his energetic struggle for industrial unionism, Comrade Foster joined the Industrial Workers of the World. This organization had, on the one hand, its positive side—that it was a militant fighting trade union, imbued at that time, and for a number of years following, with a revolutionary spirit; and, on the other, that it had a syndicalist contempt of political activity, and a policy of smashing the existing

rade unions in favor of industrial syn-
licalist unions. Thus, in his effort to find
correct road for the struggles of the
vorkers, Comrade Foster, for some time,
ell out of the opportunist organization
f the Second International into the
ectarian syndicalist movement.

In the I.W.W. he at least found that,
nder the leadership of Bill Haywood,
he organization was really used to de-
end workers' interests every day. Foster
n the I.W.W. fought against the syndi-
alist sectarian policy of splitting the
rade union movement. In 1919, in an ef-
ort to establish the right of the I.W.W.
o function legally in Spokane, Wash-
ngton, he was arrested and served two
nonths in jail.

The following year he was elected by
ne I.W.W. to the Budapest meeting of
ne Trade Union Secretariat.

During the war, Foster was in Chicago.
here he was very active in the Federa-
on of Labor. He became secretary of a
ommittee which organized the packing-
ouse workers of all the main meat cen-
rs, to a total of 200,000. In 1917 ("food
ill win the war" was the slogan burned
r war propaganda into the minds of
e masses), he led their strike for wage
creases and for some improvement in
nditions. Negro and white workers
ught shoulder to shoulder. And despite
e hysterical chauvinist war passions
oused against them, and the perse-
tion of revolutionary workers, they
ade substantial gains.

In 1918, the Central Council of the
hicago Federation of Labor, on the in-
ative of Comrade Foster, carried a
solution calling for the organization of
e steel industry. This struggle to or-
nize the workers in the steel industry
d been marked by the most violent bat-
s in the history of the American labor
ovement which, on many occasions, as in
omestead, took the form of open pitched
arfare with arms, which sometimes
ted for several days. The conservative
aders of the A. F. of L. (Gompers,
head of the A. F. of L., was a member
Wilson's War Board) resisted this
movement and were satisfied to let the mass of workers remain unorganized.

But Comrade Foster and the group around him, with skill and belligerency, fought down every obstacle put in their path. He was appointed the secretary of the committee for the organization of the steel workers. The A. F. of L. national leaders, to save their faces, donated a few dollars to the organization fund, when hundreds of thousands were needed and available in their swollen union treasuries.

The Right-wing official leadership of the Socialist Party was indifferent and even hostile to the struggle: little aid came from other labor organizations. The I.W.W., syndicalist and sectarian, stood aloof, and even fought the strike. Only the unions where the Left wing was somewhat strong, such as some needle trades unions, gave any single big sums. Yet, with all these handicaps, Comrade Foster and his group succeeded in organizing the overwhelming masses of the steel workers against the steel trust, the most powerful trust in the United States. The movement took on such proportions that the steel trust was forced to make some concessions—instead of a 12-hour day, they had to concede an 8-hour day; the wages of the workers were increased.

Nevertheless, in September, 1919, the steel strike, involving 365,000 workers, burst into flame. It lasted for three months. It marked one of the bloodiest chapters in the history of American bourgeois class terror. It was battered by an army of thugs. Police and troops shot into strikers. Murder was a common occurrence. Bullet and blackjack were the employers' arguments. Homes were broken into and broken up. Strikers were imprisoned and brutally tortured en masse. Where the fight was most difficult, there was always Foster. And under his leadership, inspired by his courage, the workers fought back for three long months. Even then, they might have won had it not been for the hostility of Gompers and Co., who, far more effectively

than all the open enemies, weakened the strike from within by sabatoging all efforts to rally support in all the other trade unions. At the end of three months, the workers were forced to retreat.

Under the influence of the great socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R. and as a result of the experiences of the American labor movement, Comrade Foster recognized the mistakes of his syndicalist underestimation of the political struggle. Finally, he witnessed within the S. P. a split in which more than half of the membership of the S.P. took a position against the very leaders with whom Comrade Foster had fought during his membership, from 1900 to 1909.

In September, 1919, the basis was laid for the creation of the Communist Party which adopted the program and tactics which had been propagated by the Bolsheviks during the war, and which had been confirmed by all the experience of the revolution in the U.S.S.R.

The Communist Party was in the process of formation from September, 1919, until 1921, when it finally emerged as a legal party.

In 1921, Comrade Foster led a considerable group of able, militant and established A. F. of L. fighters and organizers (including some of the best steel and packinghouse leaders, such as Jack Johnstone and Sam Hammersmark) into the ranks of the Communist Party. Thus, the trade union group which was raised to the understanding of Communism, led by Comrade Foster, merged with the former Socialist Party group of the same tendency, led by Comrade Ruthenberg, to form the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

The rising new trade union organizers can do no better for their class than to follow the example of the best leaders of the older generation, work with and join the Communist Party.

Comrade Foster, in the years of the sharp factional struggle, at first together with Comrade Ruthenberg, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., and after the death of C. E. Ruthenberg, together with Comrade Browder, carried on a tremendous struggle for the strengthening of the Communist Party against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and the Right-wing factionists, who wanted to split the Party and to turn it into a plaything of the bourgeoisie. From the time of his entry into the Party, Comrade Foster has been continuously a member and a leader of the Central Committee of our Party.

In the years following his entrance into the Communist Party, he was always to be found where the struggle was thickest. In the needle trades strikes, in the Pennsylvania and Ohio coal strikes, with the New York food workers—wherever the spirit of tne class struggle of the workers was arising, when the air was charged with hatred to the exploiters, when the lines were most tightly drawn—there would always be Foster—patiently explaining how to fight, helping to organize, giving his experience, and always involved in the "pick and shovel" work of the strikers themselves.

The great stock market crash of 1929 made the entire Party aware of the necessity and the possibility of organizing the unemployed workers against Hoover's starvation program. Characteristically, Comrade Foster took a leading part in these struggles, which frequently took the most militant form of street battles, sometimes in the face of mounted police, rifles, shotguns, revolvers and tear gas.

Following the huge New York March 6 demonstration of 1930 (in which 110,000 unemployed took part), Comrade Foster, together with Comrades Minor, Amter, Raymond and Lester, was arrested and sentenced to a term of which he served seven months for his participation. During this trial, he, as well as his co-defendants, made militant speeches over the objection of the court. This so enraged the judge that when they refused to be silenced he had them dragged out of the courtroom.

Because of the strenuous years of activity, and especially following a most bitter election campaign in 1932, during

hich time he was arrested and his meet-gs broken up by police and thugs in city ter city, Comrade Foster fell seriously ck. But if his sickness confined him to d, it did not eliminate him from his rticipation in the class struggle.

* * *

The comrades on the West Coast tell at, in the most difficult days of the aritime and general strikes of 1934, hile Comrade Foster was flat on his ck, supposedly being cured, his body aking with fever and a shattered phy-que, he continued to meet with active arty leaders and helped to work out eir policies and activities. It is not mmonly known that it was in a large easure due to his constructive and help-l suggestions that many of the achieve-ents of that strike were gained.

In 1924, he became first Communist ndidate for president of the United ates: he has since been chosen candi-te for President again in 1928 and 32. Due to ill health Comrade Foster d not run in 1936 but was replaced by mrade Browder, his close co-worker. He has been for many years Chairman of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and is a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

At the present time, when in the United States the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party is developing under new conditions, it is important to recall that when in the post-war years the movement for an independent Farmer-Labor Party arose Comrade Foster was one of the initiators and best fighters for this movement.

The revolutionary work of Comrade Foster remains in the arsenal of working class knowledge, to be increased and made more widespread, until the victory of humanity against the barbaric system of class exploitation.

The workers of the United States and of all countries should know that they have in Comrade Foster a loyal and active disciple of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, an able comrade in arms of the General Secretary of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff, and a devoted champion of the interests of the American and all workers.

The Mass Election Congress of the Communist Party of Holland

BY C. SCHALKER

THE Parliamentary elections in Holland are to be held in the first half of 1937.

The Communist Party of Holland initiated the campaign by calling a special congress on December 26, 1936. This Congress was a great event in the fight for the formation of the united anti-fascist front in Holland.

Ten thousand workers, peasants, intellectuals and members of the middle classes from the whole country gathered together in the Exhibition Building in Amsterdam, the largest meeting hall in the country. There were present Communists, Social-Democrats, members of the free trade unions as well as representatives of the Evangelical and Catholic trade unions.

The Communist Party of Holland carried on a six weeks' campaign prior to the Congress, in the shape of meetings and the dispatch of groups of agitators into the farthest corners of the country. The Party was thus able to arouse the interest of wide masses in the congress. The meetings adopted enthusiastic resolutions to send delegates to the congress.

Among the 620 delegates who came to the congress from the north provinces of Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe, in what is chiefly a peasant region, there were agricultural and industrial workers and a number of peasants. Among the 680 delegates from the eastern provinces of Overyssel (which includes the Twenter textile area), Gelderland and the big railway junction of Zwolle there came textile workers, artificial silk workers and railwaymen.

Among these delegations there were a large number of Social-Democratic workers who, in spite of the resistance of their leaders to the united front, decided to participate in the congress. A number of Social-Democratic workers who form a Left group in their organization came with the delegation from Arnheim (chief town in the Gelderland province). The speech made by a delegate from Overdinkel, which is near the German border, and where the Communist Party is only small in numbers, was characteristic of the attitude of the Social-Democratic members of the congress. The delegate from Overdinkel pointed out that it was only thanks to the active support of the local Social-Democratic workers that it was possible for the delegation to attend the congress.

From the Catholic provinces of the south, Limburg and Brabant (where there are situated the large electrical works of Philips and the mining district of the Netherlands) there came 300 delegates of whom only 60 were Communists.

From Utrecht, a province where the organizational influence of the Party is still very small, 150 delegates were pres-

nt. The Hague, the capital, sent a spe-
al train with 900 delegates. One thou-
and delegates came from the outskirts
f Amsterdam, and 6,000 came from
msterdam itself.

The congress listened with the closest
ttention to the speaker, Comrade De
isser, the leader of the Parliamentary
roups of the Communist Party of Hol-
nd. His report showed the immediate
asks of the Communist Party of Holland
n the fight against the threat of war and
ascism, for the defense of democracy
nd for the improvement of the stand-
rd of living of all sections of the work-
ng people of Holland. The audience
reeted with enthusiastic applause the
eferences of the speaker to the need for
ie establishment of working class unity
nd the formation of the People's Front
s the urgent task in the present situ-
tion, in order to crush fascism in their
wn country, and in order to resist the
hreatening attack of Hitler fascism with
ie power of the whole people.

Hitler fascism, which through its
gents is trying to form a basis for itself
n the army, is seriously threatening the
ndependence of the country which can
nly be maintained by the unity of the
asses of the people in the fight against
ascism. The slogans of the congress for
ecuring the independence of the coun-
y were as follows: "Change the army
nd navy into a strong democratic fight-
ng force, purged of the fascists!", "For
llaboration with all democratic powers,
articularly with the Soviet Union, the
reat bulwark of peace and collective
ecurity!"

The speaker, Comrade De Visser, ex-
osed the real plans of Hitler fascism
nd the Japanese government hidden be-
nd the "anti-Comintern" agreement, of
iese two aggressors, which side by side
ith their attempts to provoke war
gainst the Soviet Union, are threaten-
ng to seize the Dutch East Indies. The
ommunist Party of Holland is giving
ncrete shape to its struggle for the
mancipation of the Indonesian people
and is demanding of the Dutch govern-
ment the "democratization of the regime
in the Dutch East Indies" and the crea-
tion of such conditions for the Indonesian
people that they can defend themselves
against the fascist marauders. This part
of the speech was interrupted by an ova-
tion given to the Communist Member of
Parliament, Comrade Roestam Effendi,
the representative of the Dutch East
Indies, who was present at the congress.

The congress put forward a number
of demands for the improvement of the
material conditions of the workers, peas-
ants, members of the middle classes and
intellectuals, worsened as a result of the
crisis and of the reactionary economic
policy of the Colyn government. The work
of actively mustering all the progressive
forces for the defense of culture, free-
dom of conscience and belief, art and
science, which are threatened with ruin
by fascism, was put forward as one of
the most important tasks of the Commu-
nist Party of Holland.

Comrade De Visser from the tribune
of the congress branded the foul role of
the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites
as splitters of the working class move-
ment and the masses of the people, and
as abettors of fascism in the preparation
of war against the Soviet Union. He de-
clared that the sectarian trade union or-
ganization, the "N.A.S." (the National
Workers' Secretariat), was treacherously
attempting to paralyze all the efforts of
the working class for unity, and there-
fore could not be regarded as a com-
ponent part of the labor movement. The
Congress responded to this with loud
applause.

In a brief report, Comrade de Groot,
the Secretary of the Communist Party,
pointed to the growth in the organiza-
tion and the strengthening of the politi-
cal influence of the Party. He pointed to
the great possibilities opening up not
only for a much more rapid growth of
the Communist movement but also for
the establishment of a united front of the
whole of the Dutch people against the
threat of fascism.

A number of delegates from different provinces, representatives of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, took part in the discussion. All the speakers expressed their agreement with the slogans of the Communist Party for the election campaign, and stressed the necessity for working class unity and the fighting unity of the whole of the working population.

There was tremendous enthusiasm in the hall when Jef Last, the Dutch writer, rose to speak. He had been fighting in the International Brigade on the Madrid front and was present for a few days in Amsterdam. Amid continuous applause and great ovations he painted a picture of the historic fight of the Spanish heroes of freedom against the fascist hangmen and their accomplices. Only the People's Front, based on the unity of the Spanish working class and the active solidarity of the millions of anti-fascists throughout the world and, first and foremost, on the support of the Soviet Union, was able to prevent the accomplishment of the designs of the Spanish fascists, traitors to their native land, and their foreign accomplices. *They shall not pass!* Such, in brief, was the content of Jef Last's speech.

At the end of the congress the election program was adopted by acclamation. The list of Parliamentary candidates proposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party was adopted amidst great applause.

This mass congress called by the Communist Party of Holland made a big impression in Holland.

The big capitalist press, whose representatives were present at the congress, in general published a business-like report of the congress. Part of the press, though, particularly the Catholic press, tried to arouse doubts about the "honesty" of the intentions of the Communist Party as expressed in its election program. The lively interest of the working people in the congress and the concrete political slogans formulated by the Communist Party as a result of its determined course to achieve the fighting unity of the masses are causing disquiet in the governing Catholic Party and particularly in the ranks of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders. This is expresed in the hysterical and suspicious attitude of their press to the Communist Party of Holland.

The fascist press utilized the congress to raise a howl about the "Communist danger" in Holland.

The congress will be of great importance in the political life of Holland if the Communist Party and its leadership with energy and steadfastness set about putting into life the slogans adopted by the election congress.

The Campaign for Unity in England

FOLLOWING upon long discussions among the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Independent Labor Party and the Socialist League, a great campaign for working class unity in Britain was launched by the publication on January 18 of the joint manifesto printed below. The manifesto was signed on behalf of the Communist Party of Great Britain by Harry Pollitt, William Gallacher, M.P., and R. Palme Dutte; for the Socialist League by Sir Stafford Cripps, M.P., G. R. Mitchison and Wm. Mellor; for the Independent Labor Party by James Maxton, M.P., F. W. Jowett and Fenner Brockway.

THE MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Unity of all sections of the working class movement.

Unity in the struggle against fascism, reaction and war, and against the National Government.

Unity in the struggle for immediate demands, and the return of a Labor Government, as the next stage in the advance to working class power.

Unity through the removal of all barriers between sections of the working class movement, through the strengthening of trade unionism and cooperation, through the adoption of a fighting program of mass struggle, through the democratization of the Labor Party and the trade union movement.

Unity within the framework of the Labor Party and the trade unions.

These are the objectives of those responsible for launching the Unity Campaign—a campaign to revitalize the activity and transform the policy of the labor movement.

Today is no time for defeatism or for breakaways: today is no time for retreat or class collaboration; today is the time for a united challenge and attack.

To weld the power of the workers into an unbreakable front, to advance in the fight for socialism, we must mobilze for immediate objectives, clear in their appeal and vital in the battle against reaction and fascism.

On the basis of unity let the whole labor movement declare its determination to oppose fascism in all its forms, to oppose the National Government as the agent of British capitalism and imperialism, to oppose all restrictions upon civil and trade union liberty, to oppose the militarization of Great Britain.

Let the movement declare its implacable opposition to the rearmament and recruiting program of the National Government, for that government uses armaments only in support of fascism, of imperialist war, of reaction, and of colonial suppression.

The fight for peace demands unbending hostility to a National Government that can in no circumstances be trusted to use armaments in the interests of the working class, of the peoples, or of peace.

To save the peoples of the world from the growing menace of fascist aggression the working class must mobilize the maximum effective opposition; it must mobilize for the maintenance of peace, for the defense of the Soviet Union and its fight for peace, and for a pact among Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France

and all other states in which the working class have political freedom.

Working class unity alone can ensure the winning of the battle for peace.

Into the very foreground of political conflict must be brought the demand for the nationalization of the arms industry and for the abolition of the caste and class system within the armed forces.

Let the labor movement declare without equivocation that it supports the struggle of the Indian and colonial peoples against imperialism; that it is with them in their fight for free speech, a free press, free meeting and organization, with them in the fight for their immediate demands, in the struggle to alleviate their position of economic and social servitude.

Now is the time for the workers, conscious of their power and of the movement's strength of purpose, to wage incessant struggle, political and industrial alike, for simple things the workers need.

Let the movement not wait for general elections but now, by active demonstration, win and organize support for:

1. Abolition of the Means Test.

2. T.U.C. scales of Unemployment Benefit.

3. National work of social value for distressed areas.

4. Forty-hour week in industry and the public service.

5. Paid holiday for all workers.

6. Higher wages, the abolition of tied cottages for agricultural workers.

7. Coordinated trade union action for higher wages in industry, especially in mining, cotton and sweated trades.

8. Non-contributory pensions of £1 at 60.

9. Immediate rehousing of the workers in town and countryside in houses that are homes.

10. Power to get back the land for the people.

11. Nationalization of the mining industry.

12. Effective control of the banks, the stock exchange with their gambling and private profiteering—profiteering accentuated by the armament boom.

13. Making the rich pay for social amelioration.

We stand for action, for attack, for the ending of retreat, for the building of the strength, unity and power of the working class movement.

* * *

A couple of weeks before the publication of this manifesto, the *Daily Herald* developed a tremendous campaign designed to prevent the consummation of the negotiations. It was said that the agreement was directed against the Labor Party, and that its aim was not unity, but to split the working class movement.

The wish is father to the thought.

For the line of the Communist Party, as is well known, is to take as its starting point the necessity for all organizations of the working class being united in the Labor Party, so that all the forces of the labor movement can be united for the struggle against reaction and fascism, for democracy and peace, for the everyday economic demands and needs of the masses. The Communist Party strives for the unity of the working class, and any agreement to which its signature is put must necessarily be directed against all tendencies toward splitting, breakaway or dispersing the forces of the working class. In like manner any campaign in which the Communist Party participates must be directed toward strengthening and not weakening the Labor Party, toward securing the adhesion of all working class organizations outside its ranks and toward making it a real organization of unity of the working class.

The *Daily Herald* speaks of the "old familiar line of division, existing now for forty-five years, between Communism and British Socialism in this country". In using these words, the *Daily Herald* is not only giving a false historical picture to its readers, but is betraying its

lesire to see the divisions in the working lass movement perpetuated.

And now, after the appearance of the nanifesto, it is clear to be seen who is or and who against unity of the British vorking class. For the reply of the Na-ional Council of Labor to this campaign or unity of the workers against the National Government, fascism and war, vas to issue an "appeal for loyalty" (Jan. 13, 1937). Loyalty to the arma-nents program of the National Govern-nent, their betrayal of Spanish democ-racy? And if the members do not remain oyal to this policy then the threat of excommunication hangs over them; mem-bers of the Labor Party must not asso-ciate, the appeal says, "with organiza-ions which are clearly formed to pursue united front' and 'popular front' activi-ies".

The *Daily Worker* of Jan. 15, 1937, mmediately issued a clear and strong re-oly, pointing out that this appeal is directed "against the development of a nited front against fascism and war". "These slogans . . . of loyalty and dis-cipline will not conceal its essentially negative and disrupting character from the Labor Party membership", is the reply of the C.P.G.B. "The form of united activity in which local Labor and Communist Parties are engaged is to raise money and food for the Spanish people."

The agreement arrived at on a common platform among these three organizations is only the *first step* along the new road of struggle for working class unity in Great Britain. Other steps will follow. There will follow a daily, stubborn and tireless struggle of the united forces of the members and active workers of these three organizations which have arrived at agreement, for the vital demands of the working class embodied in their joint manifesto, for united action of all working class organizations in Great Britain.

This struggle will lead to the utmost strengthening of the British trade unions, and to the realization, in spite of the resistance offered by the present reactionary leaders of the Labor Party, of complete unity within the framework of this same Labor Party.

The London Conference of the First International

BY E. RUBINSTEIN

THE Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin in Moscow has published the proceedings of the London Conference of the First International.* The significance of this conference is extremely great. It was prepared and conducted under the direct guidance of Marx and Engels. In the form of scanty notes of the proceedings, we are here provided with the numerous expressions of opinion made by Marx and Engels; according to the records, Marx intervened in the discussions 97 times during the conference, and Engels 36 times.

This conference was convened a few months after the heroic struggle of the Paris Communards, and took place September 17-23, 1871. Just those very questions which were set with new force before the working class by Marx in the light of the lessons of the Paris Commune formed the backbone of the work of the conference; these questions were: the dictatorship of the proletariat; the political party of the proletariat; the political struggle; the struggle against sectarianism in all its varieties, and first and foremost against Bakuninism.

On May 28, 1871, the last barricade of the Paris Communards fell. In his letter to Kugelmann dated April 17, 1871, Marx had already indicated the world historic importance of the Paris Commune:

"The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and the state has entered upon a new phase with the struggle in Paris. Whatever the immediate results may be, a new point of departure of world-historic importance has been gained."*

And on May 30, at the session of the General Council, Marx already made public his address "The Civil War in France", in which he showed the world historic significance of the struggle of the Communards. Its whole significance lay in the fact that the Commune was "a government of the working class", "that it was, at last, the open political form under which the economic emancipation of labor could come about".

The Commune revealed not only the fact that the proletarian revolution must "smash", "break up" the bourgeois *state machine, but also what could and should replace this machine.*

The years 1870-71 signified the beginning of the new period, which extended from the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune to the victory of the October Revolution in Russia and the end of the imperialist war inclusively, "the

*_The London Conference of the First International_, September 17-23, 1871. 345 pages. Partisdat (Party Publishing House), Moscow, 1936.

* Marx, _Letters to Kugelmann_, p. 125, International Publishers.

period of the breakdown of capitalism which had begun, of the first blow against capitalism by the Paris Commune, of the growing over of the old 'free' capitalism into imperialism, and of the overthrow of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. by the forces of the October revolution, which opened up a new era in the history of mankind."** The London Conference assembled at the beginning of this new period.

The chief question on the agenda of the London Conference was that of "the general organization of the International". Marx was the reporter on this question.

The aim of all the decisions taken by the London Conference on the proposal of Marx was to help the workers to solve the urgent tasks facing them of creating independent mass parties in every country and of strengthening the International, as the international party of the proletariat. The decisions taken by the conference on the question of the names to be adopted by the national council, the local sections, groups, etc., on the rights of representatives of the General Council in the localities, on the composition of the General Council, on the revision of the rules and their translation into other languages, on the convening of the next congress, on membership dues, regular recording and statistics, etc.—all these decisions were linked up with the fulfilment of the fundamental tasks confronting the proletariat at that time.

All the branches, sections and groups of the International were forbidden by the Conference to "adopt sectarian names as, for example, positivist, mutualist, collectivist, communist, etc., or to set up separate societies called sections of propaganda, etc., claiming to fulfil special tasks apart from the general aims of the Association," thereby stressing the fact that the Association (*i.e.* the International) was an international proletarian party conducting a resolute struggle against all kinds of sectarianism.

However, while taking this general decision as to the naming of the organizations of the International, the Conference at the same time emphasized the point that in those countries where the sections of the International Workingmen's Association could not at that time carry on a legal existence, the "Association and its local groups could be reorganized under various other names".

Of particularly great importance was the decision taken by the conference on the question of "secret societies in the proper sense of the word". Marx and Engels demanded of the members of the International Workingmen's Association that they should carry on revolutionary work under all possible conditions, using all legal opportunities and forms of struggle, on no account limiting themselves to such, but continuing their revolutionary struggle in spite of terror, in spite of persecution, by passing over to illegal methods of work, and readjusting their organizations "under different names".

But the Blanquists and Bakuninists preferred the game of "secret societies" and organizations of plotters isolated from the masses to the tedious struggle to set up mass revolutionary organizations, and they tried to lure the workers *off the road of mass revolutionary struggle on to the road of plotting and sectarianism.* This was why the conference was resolute in its opposition to playing at secret societies, and why Marx, when introducing his proposal on this question, stressed the point that "secret organization is one thing, but secret societies in the proper sense of the word are quite another thing, against which, on the contrary, a struggle should be waged".

At the Conference considerable attention was devoted to the question of the tasks and role of the trade unions. Both Marx and Engels in their speeches at the Conference pointed to the fact that the trade unions so far comprise only "the

** Notes of J. Stalin, S. Kirov and A. Zhdanov on the synopsis of the textbook, "New History", printed in *Bolshevik*, No. 3, 1936.

aristocratic minority of the British workers", that the overwhelming majority of the workers still remained unorganized.

However, Marx and Engels, who always fought against all forms of sectarian underestimation of the mass working class organizations, insisted here also on the importance of having trade union organizations of the working class, without which there could be no question of proceeding to higher forms of working class organization.

In its decisions, the Conference placed on record that "the unity of forces already achieved by the working class as a result of its economic struggles, should serve as a lever in its struggle against the political power of the landowners and capitalists".

Marx and Engels always attributed great importance in principle to the question of the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry. As opposed to Lassalle's theory of "one reactionary mass" Marx and Engels made a profound analysis of the historical destinies of the peasantry, and revealed with all clarity the impoverished conditions of the peasants and their division into different strata under conditions of capitalist society. While paying tremendous attention to the question of the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry, Marx and Engels constantly emphasized the point that only the proletarian revolution could rid the peasantry of exploitation by the landowners and capitalists.

In his speeches at the London Conference, Marx fought resolutely against the underestimation of the question of the peasantry. He declared that it would be a mistake to take a narrow view of the question of propaganda in the villages from the exclusive viewpoint of taking action against militarism. "The basic question," we read in the brief notes of the proceedings, "consists in establishing in what way the interests of the town and those of the village may be harmonized".

The Conference instructed the General Council and the federal councils to prepare reports for the next congress "on the question of the means necessary to ensure that the agricultural producers link up with the movement of the industrial proletariat". Besides this, the federal councils were asked to carry on in the villages propaganda of the principles of the International.

Of extremely great importance are the decisions of the London Conference "concerning political action by the working class".

At a time when terror against the working class was rife the International proclaimed to the whole world that "against the collective power of the propertied classes, the proletariat can act as a class only when they have organized themselves into a political party distinct from all the old parties formed by the propertied classes, and acting in opposition to them", that "the organization of the working class into a political party is essential to secure the victory of the social revolution and its final aim, namely, the abolition of classes".

In his speech on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the International, delivered at a reunion organized at the close of the London Conference, Marx once more raised in all its importance before the working class the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat under which the passage to the communist, classless society should take place.

In this admirable speech which threw light upon the road and tasks of the proletariat for many decades ahead, Marx said:

"We shall abolish the only basis of class domination and oppression by destroying the existing conditions of oppression, through the transfer of all the means of labor to the producing worker and thus compelling every physically fit individual to work so as to earn a living. But before such a change can be brought about, the necessity arises of a proletarian dictatorship, and the first condition for this will be a proletarian army. The working class will have to win emancipation for

iemselves on the field of battle. The task the International is to organize and eld together the forces of the working ass for the coming struggle."

* * *

The whole of the work of the London onference was sharply directed against akuninism.

In creating the International Working-en's Association, Marx and Engels med at "uniting all the militant forces Europe and America in one great my". (Engels.) That is why at the ven historical stage of development of e working class movement, when no dependent revolutionary proletarian rties existed even in the most advanced pitalist countries (we know that the rman Social-Democratic Party was ly established in 1869), the composi-n of the International could not be mogeneous, and working class organ-tions were allowed to join it which re at various stages of development. In this regard Marx and Engels made eir starting point the fully justified nviction that "the common line of ac-n established by the International orkingmen's Association, the exchange ideas facilitated by the organs of the ss belonging to the different national tions, and the indirect discussions at general congresses must gradually d to the establishment of a common oretical program."*

But in vain do the Social-Democratic sifiers of the history of the First In-national try to depict these tactics he great proletarian strategists, Marx l Engels, as tactics adopted to "re-cile the currents". From the day the st International was founded, Marx l Engels conducted an incessant, sys-atic, and stubborn struggle against ialist sects, a struggle to unmask the udhonists, Lassallians and, later the kuninist leaders as well, and to liber-the workers from their influence. n his letter to Bolt, Marx wrote:

"The International was founded for the purpose of replacing the socialist and semi-socialist sects by a real organization of the working class for struggle. . . . The history of the International also was a *constant struggle on the part of the General Council* against sects and dilettante experimenters who strove to establish themselves inside the International itself against the real movement of the working class."*

Bakunin and his supporters were opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. They denied the need for the political struggle of the working class and the need for a mass, centralized and disciplined political party of the proletariat.

The Bakuninists tried to cover up the very reactionary, sectarian nature of their "theories" by their pseudo-revolutionary talk of the need for universal "social liquidation", the "destruction" of every kind of state, the abolition of all forms of authority, the abolition of the hight of inheritance, etc.

Marx characterized the program, with which Bakunin tried to "imbue" the International, in the following words:

"His program was a hodge-podge superficially picked up from everywhere —including *equality of classes* (!), the abolition of the right of inheritance as the starting point in the social revolution (St. Simonian nonsense), *atheism*, prescribed to the members of the International as a dogma, and as the main dogma (*a la Proudhon*), *abstention from participation in the political movement.*"**

Bakunin joined the International so as to disrupt it from within. Although the Bakunin Alliance had been officially dissolved, it actually continued to exist in secret and to carry on its disruptive work of corruption inside the International. In March, 1870, Marx dispatched to the Brunswick Committee of the Social-

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* *The London Conference of the First rnational*, p. 243, Russian Edition.

* Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVI, p. 243, Russian Edition.

** *Ibid*, p. 175.

Democratic Party of Germany a "Confidential Report" written by himself in which he exposed the disorganizing character of Bakunin's "work" in the International.

Incidentally, Marx wrote in this report:

"*Nominally*, the Alliance dissolved itself, *actually* it remained in existence, under Bakunin's leadership. . . . Bakunin now attempted to reach his goal—the transformation of the International into his personal instrument—by other means."*

The split brought about by the Bakuninists at the Second Congress of the Suisse-Romande branches in April, 1870, was regarded by Bakunin as a declaration of war against the General Council. "The battle which will break out at La Chaux-de-Fonds", he wrote to his adherent, Richard, "will be of tremendous interest to the world. It will be the harbinger and forerunner of the fight we shall have to put up at the coming general congress of the International."

After the split at La Chaux-de-Fonds the Bakuninists managed to get resolutions in the spirit of the Alliance passed in a number of the sections of the International in South European countries (in Spain, South France, and a number of towns in Italy), where the ruined, pauperized section of the petty bourgeoisie formed favorable soil for Bakuninism. However, the Bakuninists failed to bring about a split in the International as a whole. The heroic struggle of the Communards and the historic experience of the Paris Commune showed to the working class with added force all the magnitude of the tenets of Marxism in general and of the teachings of Marxism about the state, in particular, and was a living condemnation of the "theories" and adventurist practices of Bakuninism. That is why Bakunin hesitateed to begin an open struggle against the General Council at the London Conference. More than this, a short time before the Conference, the Alliance once more declared itself dissolved, but this was clearly only a new double-faced maneuver.

At the conference, neither Bakunin nor others of his more prominent supporters put in an appearance. The Bakuninists Robain, Pastelica and Lorenzo made an unsuccessful attempt to break up the conference, declaring that it "had no rightful powers", but they received a fitting reply on the spot.

The decision taken at the Conference and already mentioned above, "On the Political Action of the Working Class", dealt a fresh blow against the notorious Bakuninist "principle" of abstention from politics. "The Conference reminds the members of the International that the economic movement and political action of the working class in the course of their struggle are indissolubly connected with each other."

In their speeches at the conference, Marx and Engels exposed the hypocrisy and harmfulness of the Anarchist "principle" of abstention from politics. Engels, in particular, pointed out that those who proclaim themselves to be supporters of abstention are actually also taking part in politics.

"The argument is only as to what policy to pursue and how to pursue it. . . . To preach to them [the workers—Ed.] abstention from politics," said Engels, "would be pushing them into the arms of bourgeois politics."

During the discussion of the question as to the expediency of participating in bourgeois parliaments, Marx resolutely condemned the speech of Pastelica, a Bakuninist, who qualified participation in elections to parliament as "childish uproar", as "a waste of energy". On this question, Marx declared: The governments are hostile to us. We must reply to them by all the possible means at our disposal. To get workers into parliament is of direct advantage to them, but real people must be selected, not Tolains."

* Marx, *Letters to Kugelmann*, p. 104, International Publishers, New York.

Marx was referring to Tolain, a "Right" Proudhonist who demonstrated his "abtention from politics" by fighting gainst the Paris Communards on the ide of the counter-revolutionary Verailles.)

It was reported at the Conference that n the French and then in a number of ther translations of the rules of the nternational Workingmen's Association here were certain distortions. In particlar, Tolain, who was the author of the rst translation of the rules from nglish into French, made the following alse translation: in the preamble to the ules where he points out "that the conomic emancipation of working lasses is therefore the great end which every political movement is be subordinate *as a means*", Tolain urposely left out the words "as a ieans". In the decisions of the London onference it was pointed out that "disorted translations of the authentic rules fford a pretext for different interpretaons which harm the development and ctivity of the International Workingmen's Association" and the General ouncil was instructed to publish *a new dition* of the rules with an authentic anslation into German and French to e printed side by side with the English ext. The decisions adopted by the conerence on the political action of the orking class, as well as a number of its ost important organizational decisions hich strengthened the ranks of the Inernational Workingmen's Association, ere a devastating blow to Bakuninism.

In addition to this the conference took pecial decisions "On the Alliance of ocialist Democracy", and "On the Split n the Suisse Romande". The Conference ook note of the declaration of the Alance concerning its self-dissolution, but t the same time fully recognized the act that this self-dissolution was only a ew maneuver on the part of the Bauninists, and therefore adopted a resoution categorically prohibiting the secons "henceforth to adopt sectarian ames . . . or to create separate societies under the name of sections of propaganda, the Alliance of Socialist Democracy . . . etc."

Having discussed the question of the split in the Suisse Romande, the conference exposed the disorganized and undermining character of the policy of the Bakuninists and proposed that "all honest workers of the highland branches join the sections of the Romande federation".

Thus, the Bakuninists were not yet, at the London Conference, expelled from the International.

The expulsion of Bakunin and his supporters followed at the next Congress held in the Hague in September, 1872.

The London Conference of the First International marked a big success for Marxism over Bakuninism, and was an important event in the struggle of Marx and Engels for a proletarian party.

The experience of the struggle of Marx and Engels against Anarchism and sectarianism in all its shades has not lost its stirring interest even in our days. For example, in Spain Bakuninism is by no means a mere historical recollection. The Anarchist workers are today fighting in the ranks of the united army of the united People's Front, but the fascist rebels, aggressors and their foul Trotskyist agents continue to place their stakes upon disorganizing the ranks of the proletariat. Under the influence of the lessons of the fierce civil war, a process is taking place among the Anarchist workers and their leaders in the direction of living down their old Anarchist prejudices, and the experience of the First International should strengthen them in their energetic, courageous struggle shoulder to shoulder with Communists and Socialists, in the struggle for democracy, for a liberated Spain.

* * *

The minutes of the London Conference, which through the guilt of Kautsky and his supporters were hidden away for many decades, will become the property of the international proletariat at a time

when that which could only be a dream in the years of the First International has become a living reality. To use the words of Comrade Stalin:

"What has been cherished and continues to be cherished by millions of honest people in the capitalist countries has already been realized in the U.S.S.R."

On one-sixth part of the world, in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, "the first phase of communism, socialism, has been realized in the main".

The results of this tremendous victory gained under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin, the great leaders of the International proletariat, are set out in the greatest document of our epoch, in the Stalin Constitution.

The Spanish Exhibition in the Museum of the Revolution

BY V. L.

A FEW pictures, letters, photographs, flags, diagrams, newspapers — yet how vividly, how much they tell about the struggle and heroism of the Spanish people. The whole story of the Spanish revolution, the struggle for the People's Front in Spain, is set forth in the recently opened Spanish exhibition, which occupies three small halls in the Museum of the Revolution in Moscow.

We see first of all Spain under the monarchy, the Spain of semi-feudal landlordism; diagrams of the distribution of land—the lion's share, the largest and best lands to the rich landlords and the churches, while the masses of the working peasantry were left almost without land at all; another diagram of the composition of the state budget, revealing the chief expenditure on the upkeep of the churches, the army and the police.

Then the overthrow of the monarchy, April 14, 1931, in the form of photographs of republican demonstrations. The position in Spain after the overthrow of the monarchy, the growing dissatisfaction of the people toward the new republican government, which failed to bring any amelioration to the position of the workers and peasants, and the culminating revolt of the Asturian miners in the autumn of 1934. This is all expressed in diagrams of the economic position of the people, one of which displays the infinitesimal extent to which the promised agrarian reforms were actually carried out in practice.

The fighting of the Asturian miners is brought vividly home in photographs of the actual fighting in October, 1934, of bombs made by the men themselves out of tin cans; in exhibits of small slips of paper entitling the holder to a pair of boots or a small quantity of food, distributed by the Revolutionary Committees, by the trade unions and the Anarchist organizations; in the photographs of the noble heroes of the day, bold, strong, determined leaders of the Asturian miners and peasants.

In the same hall, the February 16, 1936, elections and the preceding campaign are unfolded: copies of leaflets distributed by the People's Front and the Communist Party of Spain, bearing their respective programs. A copy of *New Culture*, an intellectual organ, which publishes excerpts from the report of Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in which the questions of the People's Front were given exhaustive treatment for the first time; a Spanish postcard bearing an appeal to all people of Spain to join the People's Front.

All the tense feeling and the whole nature of the struggle waged by the People's Front during the election campaign are to be found in the huge

posters which once adorned the walls of Spanish towns and now hang in the exhibition; and the final triumph is shown in a circular diagram of the election results.

All this part of the exhibition is in the nature of an introduction to the other, greater part, showing the events of the second half of 1936, the struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist rebellion. The rebellion was the reply of the united forces of reaction to the first attempts of the People's Front Government which had come to power as a result of the victory, to clear away some of the more outrageous injustices of the previous regime. In preparation for the armed uprising, the fascist bandits set to work to collect arms and ammunition, to obtain support from fascist Germany and Italy, to concentrate their fascist armed units under treacherous Spanish army generals.

Caught unawares, the Republican Government and the masses of the people supporting it immediately began to mobilize their forces against the fascist rebellion. The exhibition displays several exhibits showing posters calling on the men to join the Fifth Andalusian Regiment, the Barcelona Militia and so on; an appeal to the peasants in the rear not to kill their cattle and fowl—the country's guarantee of a supply of meat, milk, butter and eggs to help them in the struggle to come. Specimens of the khaki overalls and caps of the militiamen, badges of different organizations of the People's Front, leaflets bearing the Oath of the People's Militia—all call up a vivid picture of the actual men fighting for freedom in Spain. Worn, thumbled copies of wall newspapers, written by hand, decorated by amateur artists, reveal the anxiety of the people that each should have an opportunity of expressing his thoughts, showing up defects, offering suggestions to overcome them, and recording successes already achieved.

In the second hall of the exhibition, dealing with German and Italian intervention and the formation of the Republican Army, the dominating slogan is "Brother proletarians, unite!" Working strenuously to transform the People's Militia into a regular Republican Army, the Spanish anti-fascists, in leaflets and newspaper articles, frequently recall how similar work was done in Russia in 1918 to transform the Red Guards into the regular Red Army.

Leaflets and posters call for recruits, call for order and discipline. Here there is a photograph of an armored car, improvised by the militiamen themselves from old pieces of scrap-iron; side by side are the regular armored cars bought by the Spanish Government for the regular Republican army; here we find literature newly published on the art of warfare, one pamphlet being entitled *How to Fight in Order to Conquer.*

A photograph shows Republican airmen triumphantly repainting a captured fascist airplane, blotting out the swastika from its body, and inscribing the red insignia of the Republican Army.

The work in the rear is expressed in a leaflet bearing the Government decree confiscating the lands of the rebels and giving them to the peasants and agricultural workers.

There are numerous photographs to incriminate the interventionists: German bombs, Italian airplanes, German tanks. There are photographs of the devastation and atrocities committed by the troops of Generals Franco and Mola, with the aid of deluded Moroccans, run amok throughout the towns and villages of Spain where they have won temporary victories.

Posters call for vigilance in the face of the false rumors spread by the fascists: "Don't Believe Them!"

There are two maps of Spain, one indicating for what the fascists are fighting, namely, the churches, luxurious homes for the rich; the other, another Spain for which the Republican Army is fighting, namely, the working people, their children and homes, the factories, the fields.

Republican Spain has not only to fight ainst the open enemy, but also to find d crush the vipers, the traitors in their n camp. Here is an article published one of the Anarchist newspapers con- ning a damning attack against the dermining work of Trotskyist provoc- eurs.

The third hall depicts the fight for adrid and international solidarity in pport of the Spanish people. Here are re photographs: burning villages de- lished by Franco's troops and Italian d German fascists; awful, disfigured rpses of the women and children, tilated victims of fascist bombard- nts; burning homes and fleeing ref- ees. In other photographs: La Pasion- a and Diaz helping to dig trenches nd Madrid, hastily built barricades, eamers stretched across the roads of drid bearing the already famous in- iption: "They shall not pass: Madrid l be the grave of the fascists"; women the "Pasionaria" Anti-Fascist Wom- s Battalion on the Madrid Front; nish tankists; the "Red Devil", in's finest dare-devil pilot who has aculously escaped death by his own ing and skill, who brings death and truction to the fascist enemy from his lane.

here is the record of the Madrid ting celebrating the nineteenth anni- sary of the Russian Revolution, a er without words from Madrid, wing a strong brawny worker's arm, ly offering a spade to a handsomely- sed fop: a mute appeal to the more re sections of the Madrid population ake an active part in the defense of capital.

here are a few photographs of epi- s in the struggle of the International ade; black-draped photographs of heroes fallen in battle from all coun- s of Europe and Spain: Durruti, ler and others.

ost impressive are the exhibits which r the close link between the people pain and their brothers in the So- Union: the Spanish people respond to the aid afforded by the Soviet people in many touching ways: from the fine book presented to Marshal Voroshilov by the fighters in the People's Militia to the bouquets of artificial flowers with their red ribbons and inscriptions.

Another striking mark of international solidarity is revealed in the miniature, illegal pamphlets and newspapers heroically distributed throughout Germany, Austria and Italy by the courageous Communists and anti-fascists of those countries, calling upon the workers not to fight on the side of reaction, but to fraternize with the Republican armies and the International Brigade, to sabotage the work in munitions factories. It is impossible to look upon these leaflets, printed and distributed on pain of torture and death, without a feeling of strong emotion.

The exhibition calls forth mixed feelings: sorrow and bitterness at the death of so many heroes, so many innocent women and children, disgust at the empty words and promises from so many who call themselves friends of democracy, relief, because the workers of the world are many and their aid to Spain tangible and real. It calls forth in everyone who sees it a strong determination to do everything, to force others to do everything within their power, to ensure the final victory of the Spanish people.

It is quite possible to organize exhibitions of this kind, not only in the Soviet Union, but also in France, Holland, England, Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia, and the U.S.A.; everywhere valuable and interesting material is available. Exhibitions of this kind would do much to mobilize the activities of the masses in aid of the Spanish people; they would bring home to the masses all the bestial atrocities of the fascists in Spain, all the damnable injustice of German and Italian intervention and the hypocritical, lying, "non-intervention" of the "democratic" governments. They would recruit not a few new active fighters for the cause of democracy in Spain and throughout the world.

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